

THE MILITANT

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S. Africa: unions back divestment; 12 freedom fighters win release

New labor federation in front line of struggle

BY FRED FELDMAN

The founding of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) marks a big step forward for the forces fighting to put an end to the racist apartheid system. With an estimated 500,000 members in more than 30 unions, COSATU is the largest union federation in South Africa's history.

The founding convention, which concluded with a massive rally December 1, placed COSATU in the front lines of the battle for a democratic, nonracial South Africa. It expressed strong support for an international economic boycott of the racist regime.

The gathering declared the federation to be nonracial — open to workers of all colors. It projected the goal of establishing a single union for each of South Africa's industries.

An indication of the impact COSATU is already having came just a few days later when the World Council of Churches met in Harare, Zimbabwe. The church organization issued a strong appeal December 6 for economic sanctions against South Africa, heeding calls for divestment by COSATU Secretary General Jay Naidoo, National Union of Mineworkers Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and others.

The strong stand for divestment at COSATU's founding convention was a blow to the white minority regime. Presi-



Elijah Barayi (left), president of newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions; Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, in protest against jailings in South Africa.

dent Ronald Reagan, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and others have justified opposition to economic sanctions by claiming to sympathize with Black workers who might lose their jobs.

COSATU President Elijah Barayi, an employee of a Transvaal gold mine, deflated that hypocritical pose. Barayi



pointed out that the U.S. and British governments "tell us they are against disinvestment because the Black people would starve, but Black people have been starving here since the first white settlers arrived in 1652."

"COSATU is in full support of divestment," Barayi stated.

COSTU's stand is a bold one. Advocacy of divestment is a criminal offense in South Africa.

The COSATU convention has called for a national minimum wage with cost of living increases, pointing out that South Africa's employers made "massive and unrealistic" profits by paying starvation wages to workers. It said it would fight to have company books opened "so that workers could see exactly how the wealth they have produced is being wasted and misused by the employers' profit system."

COSATU denounced "all unequal and discriminatory treatment of women at work, in society, and in the federation." It

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Racist frame-up for treason collapses

BY NORTON SANDLER

An important victory was scored December 9 when the South African government was forced to drop charges against 12 of 16 leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on trial in Pietermaritzburg.

The racist apartheid regime had charged the defendants with high treason, terrorism, and fulfilling the objectives of the African National Congress.

Outlawed in 1960, the African National Congress has massive popular support in South Africa.

Under South African law, persons convicted of treason can be executed.

The UDF is a nonracial anti-apartheid coalition of 600 groups with a combined membership of over 2 million members. Since its founding in 1983, it has organized massive protests against the apartheid regime.

Defendants in the trial included Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, copresidents of the UDF. Albertina Sisulu is married to ANC leader Walter Sisulu, who has been in prison for 21 years.

After the dismissal of the charges, the UDF leaders characterized their trial as an attempt to "criminalize and immobilize the opponents of apartheid."

When they arrived back in Johannesburg, several of the former defendants were greeted by a crowd chanting, "Viva UDF, viva Sisulu, viva Gumede."

"I think this at least has been a crushing victory for us," Sisulu told the crowd.

Activism against apartheid, she said, "has never stopped, but this will help keep it going."

The trial of the UDF leaders was seen as South Africa's most important trial since the 1964 conviction of Nelson Mandela, Sisulu, and other leaders of the African National Congress.

When it opened October 21, the regime was facing widespread protests over the execution of Black poet Benjamin Molise.

Since then, there has been growing defiance of the apartheid system. On December 1, 10,000 unionists rallied to celebrate the founding of the Congress of South Africa.

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Nicaragua labor protest hits new U.S.-backed aggression

BY BILL GRETTER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Some 30,000 indignant Nicaraguans, organized by the country's main trade union federa-

Interview with leader of Nicaraguan union federation, page 4



Militant/Bill Grettner
Nicaraguan militia members. Union leader told 30,000 at protest that Nicaraguans are prepared to fight against CIA-organized war.

tion, demonstrated here at the U.S. embassy December 6. They were protesting the shooting down of a Nicaraguan army helicopter on December 2 by mercenaries armed and organized by the U.S. government.

The Nicaraguan government has reported that 14 Nicaraguan soldiers were killed in the helicopter crash. The aircraft was shot down near the Sandinista army base of Mulukuka by a SAM-7 surface-to-air missile. It had been supplied to the mercenary Nicaraguan Democratic Force by the CIA, Sandinistas explained. The counterrevolutionaries have not previously used this weapon.

The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) sponsored the protest demonstration. CST General Secretary Lucio Jiménez told the angry crowd:

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BY JOETTE BAITY

CARSON, Calif. — Three refinery workers are dead and more than 40 others injured — some critically — after explosions and fire devastated the No. 1 reformer unit at Atlantic Richfield Corporation's (ARCO) refinery here December 5.

State officials are calling it the worst refinery disaster in Southern California history. ARCO and other Los Angeles area oil refineries have had an alarming number of accidents and fires in recent years, with a mounting death toll.

The December 5 disaster at ARCO occurred when a line containing gasoline under high pressure burst. The highly flammable hydrocarbons ignited into a

fireball 400–500 feet high at temperatures up to 5000° F. Pieces of metal were found atop buildings a block away from the refinery.

One ARCO worker told reporters that the initial explosion "felt like Vietnam. I just looked to see where it was going, and I went the opposite direction."

A construction worker from Houston was climbing a fence "to get out of there. When I was almost to the top, it blew and blew me over the fence and out into the street." He suffered cut hands.

Many of the other construction workers weren't so lucky, suffering severe burns. Scores of construction workers had been

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Calif. refinery blast kills 3

Interest in 'Militant' coverage of garment pact

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The *Militant's* coverage of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) contract with the cotton manufacturers got a friendly response from garment workers at three area shops.

Socialist garment workers from ACTWU Local 496 at Enro Shirt

as a result of regular sales outside the plant. Many workers picked up copies of the special *Militant* supplement on the freedom struggle in South Africa distributed by a team at the plant in September.

When the contract article appeared, we made a special push to get it around. It prompted a lot of discussion on the job. The only

creases. It also introduced two-tier provisions in bonus payments and in vacation rights and other benefits. These provisions will give new hires less than other workers.

While some coworkers argue you can't knock having more money in our pockets now, others looked ahead to the future and the impact 24 months of frozen wages will have on them and on their families.

One worker felt strongly that accepting a two-year wage freeze also weakens our union's ability to bargain for more in the future.

Another coworker commented that Enro could afford the 25-cents-an-hour increase in the third year from the interest it made by holding onto the bonus money until the end of each of the first two years.

One new hire said she appreciated a newspaper that stuck up for all workers.

"I showed it to my husband and

told him that what's in this paper is what is happening to me," she said.

A majority of workers who read the article enjoyed the opportunity to learn more about the contract and get some of their questions answered. Many began to discuss it with each other.

At two other plants that are not covered by the national agreement, our sales team met garment workers who are dealing with some of the same issues in local contract fights.

Across the river in New Albany, Indiana, garment workers at M. Fine and Sons expressed mixed feelings about their new contract. Some workers we talked with felt that a victory had been won. The union forced the company to raise their initial offer of a \$250 bonus to \$500.

A shipping and receiving clerk who bought the *Militant*, however, expressed his frustration

with a three-year wage freeze. "We don't make what we deserve to begin with," he said.

Other workers described the pressures they felt when the bosses announced that the plant would shut down permanently if the contract wasn't signed.

The team at Derby Cap was immediately struck by the small number of workers entering the plant, compared to the last time we sold there. We learned that many workers were laid off and that others were working short weeks.

We also learned that it was a common opinion among the workers that they had gotten the worst of it in their contract negotiations. They had received a 10-cent increase in their hourly wages, but, in exchange, the employer was no longer paying for health-care coverage.

We sold four copies of the *Militant*.

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

Co. participated in sales at that plant and at two others. The sales allowed us to share experiences with other garment workers and to get a better picture of the common problems we face.

At Enro a handful of our coworkers have bought the *Militant* before. Others have seen the paper

other news about the contract had been a sketchy report presented to a union meeting. The contract was ratified almost unanimously.

The *Militant's* assessment of the contract was that it represents a setback for our union because it introduced the payment of lump sum bonuses instead of wage in-

COSATU. SACTU favored the effort to form a new federation.

Savage blows

By the mid-1960s, a network of racist laws and brutal repression effectively deprived Black workers of the right to organize, strike, or protest.

Forced deportations to Bantustans (desolate reservations for Africans) expanded the number of migrant laborers to more than 2 million. They were barred from bringing their families with them. A system of labor bureaus in the Bantustans forced migrant Black workers to accept any job on whatever terms were offered.

During the decade before 1973, there were few strike battles. Apartheid dealt savage blows to the Black masses.

During those same years, however, the rapid expansion of industry and mining — paid for in Black blood and superexploited labor — laid the basis for a powerful challenge to the racist system. The number of Black workers rose to as many as 8 million.

This undermined the regime's attempt to prevent the development of massive, relatively permanent concentrations of Black workers in the cities. Today, 11 million of the 24 million Africans live — under strictly segregated conditions — in urban areas in the 87 percent of South Africa reserved by law for whites.

The abysmally low Black living standards imposed by apartheid inevitably spurred efforts to fight back.

Strike wave

In 1973, a strike wave began in Durban. By the end of the year, 100,000 workers had participated in strikes in that city, winning wage increases and other gains.

Strikes spread to other cities, as well.

The Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), founded in 1972, began to grow rapidly. BAWU emerged as part of the developing Black Consciousness movement, which expressed the growing self-assertion of the Black masses.

The Chemical Workers Industrial Union, Metal and Allied Workers Union, National Union of Textile Workers, and others gained strength.

The strike wave also split the Trade Union Confederation of South Africa (TUCSA), which had gone along with the apartheid laws. A number of Coloured and Indian officials in one of the white-dominated parallel unions set up for Blacks by TUCSA split to form an independent auto workers' union.

Unions of metal workers, transport

workers, textile workers, and others began to be organized.

The defeat in early 1976 of the South African invasion of Angola, in which the Angolan government had the aid of thousands of internationalist Cuban volunteers, inspired South African Blacks. Students in the Black townships initiated a massive popular upsurge later that year. This gave a further impulse to union organization.

In the wake of the upsurge, a majority of the South African rulers came to the conclusion that the apartheid system needed to be modified if it was to survive.

New labor law

In 1979, the regime adopted a new labor law allowing for government recognition of labor unions that registered with the government. The employers had pressed

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S. African union federation challenges apartheid

Continued from front page

declared that "women workers experience exploitation as workers and oppression as women and that Black women are further discriminated against on the basis of race."

COSATU resolved to set up a subcommittee to promote women's rights.

The federation announced it would boycott the government's Johannesburg centenary celebration next year. Instead, the unions would organize a program "to highlight 100 years of exploitation and oppression in Johannesburg and especially in the mining industry."

Setback for apartheid

The formation of COSATU marks a high point in the battle of South Africa's Black workers to claim their rights. It marks a setback for the rulers' dream of guaranteeing the white bosses a disenfranchised, rightless, migrant, and disorganized force of cheap labor.

The regime banned recognition of non-racial unions in 1954 as part of the package of racist legislation that consolidated the apartheid system. The government set out to crush all independent unions based on the Black population. In particular, it aimed to break the nonracial South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), founded in March 1955. SACTU worked alongside the African National Congress (ANC) and other organizations to protest the imposition of apartheid. SACTU was an early supporter of the Freedom Charter, adopted by a congress of anti-apartheid organizations in 1955.

By the mid-1960s, SACTU had been driven underground, although it was not formally banned. One of its unions, the Food and Canning Workers, survived openly and participated in founding

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — As part of a campaign to build the National March for Women's Lives, National Organization for Women President Eleanor Smeal spoke to some 350 activists, mostly from area campuses, at Harvard University.

"We are determined to show that we are the real majority on women's right to keep abortion safe and legal," Smeal told the November 17 rally. NOW is sponsoring two abortion rights marches — on March 9 in Washington, D.C., and on March 16 in Los Angeles.

The rally was organized by the Radcliffe Union of Students and the Boston chapter of NOW.

It reflected NOW's initial success in organizing student activists in the fight for abortion rights. Participants came from Boston University, Tufts, Northeastern, University of Massachusetts, Harvard, Brandeis, Wellesley, and other campuses.

Boston NOW President Jennifer Jackman explained that "building the campus campaign is important in defending the issue and feminism itself."

NOW is reaching out to young women on campus, who have a major stake in defending abortion rights.

Smeal urged everyone to begin organizing to maximize participation in the East and West Coast national marches.

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Boston hotel workers defeat concessions



Mobilization of union's ranks defeated virtually all bosses' concession demands.

BY GARY COHEN
AND JOHN STUDER

BOSTON, Mass. — On December 2 the 4,000 members of Local 26 of the Hotel, Restaurant, Institutional Employees and Bartenders Union voted overwhelmingly to approve a new contract. This represented a successful culmination of their militant efforts to defeat hotel management's demands for deep concessions.

The hotels had demanded wage cuts across all classifications; a five-year contract; a longer probationary period; decreases in health, welfare, and pension benefits; cuts for banquet workers; the

elimination of paid holidays; and an increase in the room quota for room attendants.

The union was able to defeat virtually all concessions demanded of them without being forced on strike. The hotel workers also registered gains on some of their key demands for advances in their social rights on the job.

Management backed off at the last minute, following a one-day extension of the strike deadline to allow for final negotiations. Local 26 President Dominic Bozzotto reported to hundreds of cheering local members at 12:10 a.m. that a successful agreement had been reached.

The hotel management coalition arrayed against the union included the nine unionized hotels in Boston, backed by five other hotels that are not union-organized but that traditionally pass gains won by the union on to their employees.

Behind the scenes stood the giant insurance firms that own and direct the hotels — led by the John Hancock and Prudential Life Insurance companies.

Membership fights for 'social agenda'

Company efforts to roll back the wages and working conditions of the maids, bartenders, porters, and hotel restaurant workers that make up Local 26's membership were held off by a determined and impressive mobilization of the union's ranks. The local's membership is more than one-half women, with significant percentages of Blacks, Latinos, Haitians, Asians, and recent Portuguese immigrants.

The local published a special issue of its paper to outline the concession demands of the hotels and to prepare to mobilize the union to fight against them. This paper, like most of the local's publications, was printed in five languages — English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Vietnamese.

The paper and special leaflets drawn up both for the membership and for the rest of the labor movement to inform them about the battle shaping up highlighted the local's determination to fight against manage-

ment's concession demands.

One leaflet explained, "Boston hotel workers will not accept the concessions that have been demanded of workers across the country." It continued, "Hotel workers have been historically underpaid and undervalued. They need to move forward and not step backward."

In addition, the local focused on mobilizing to fight for a "social agenda," in addition to its economic demands. Central to this agenda were demands for affirmative action in promotions, moves to stem sexual harassment, and increased childcare facilities for women workers.

'Whatever it takes'

With only 10 days left before their contract expired, over 1,500 members and supporters of Local 26 jammed into the Arlington Street Church for a rally. The participants reflected the multinational composition of the union — Latinos, Haitians, West-Indians, U.S. Blacks, Asian-Americans, and others.

Workers repeatedly chanted the union's slogan for the contract fight: "Whatever it takes, for as long as it takes."

In addition to union President Bozzotto, speakers included Arthur Osborne, president of the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO; and Lucille Dickus, representing Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, an affiliate of the same International as the Boston hotel workers.

She spoke of the successful struggle of her clerical workers' local against Yale University. Dickus stressed the important role of women workers in that fight.

Also offering support were Tom Evers president of the Massachusetts Building Trades Council, and a number of area politicians.

The last two days of the negotiations — including the one-day extension of the strike deadline — were conducted at Boston City Hall.

The mayor shuttled back and forth between the union and the hotels' negotiators.

Workers throughout the Boston area

watched on television each night as hundreds of hotel workers packed into the lobby of City Hall for hours, chanting, rallying, taping union banners onto the walls, and singing union songs.

Solidarity grows

As negotiations went into the final hours, the hotel workers were joined by dozens of supporters from area unions and political groups. Unionists from United Auto Workers District 65, International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201, and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Local 311 came. They were joined by activists from the Central America Solidarity Association and Black church leaders.

Shortly after midnight, Bozzotto reported to the crowd that the union had won. Wage increases of 6 percent a year for each of the next three years, increases in company-paid health insurance premiums, and other economic advances were made. The union retained a 30-day probationary period against hotel demands that it be tripled. They won Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday as a paid holiday.

The hotels agreed to an aggressive affirmative action program, especially in opening up better-paying "front of the house" jobs to Blacks, Latinos, and Asian-Americans. They agreed to hold regular seminars and take other steps to counter sexual harassment. The hotels were held to a three-year contract, as opposed to one covering five years.

The union was able to cut back on management's demand for a two-tier wage system for the first year. Nevertheless, the local voted to accept a four-month starting wage of \$5 before new hires' wages would go up to the current average level of \$6.15.

Hotel workers felt that the contract — which was ratified overwhelmingly — had successfully countered the overall concession drive of the hotels.

One Black worker at the City Hall rally, Steven Washington, told the *Militant* that the local's approach to the contract fight was expressed in the fact that everything from local meetings to contract bulletins was translated into the languages of the membership.

"It was the most beautiful thing I have seen," he said. "It shows we care about us and others. In short, we show that management had better beware: we shall have victory."

UN picket line hits U.S.-organized war against Nicaragua

BY CLAUDIA HOMMEL

NEW YORK — Demanding that the U.S. government end its war against Nicaragua, 60 activists participated in an early morning picket line outside the United Nations and the U.S. Mission December 9. The demonstration was called in response to the shooting down of a Nicaraguan helicopter by mercenaries organized by Washington.

A SAM-7 surface-to-air missile was used to down the helicopter December 2. All 14 Sandinista soldiers aboard were killed. This is the first time such missiles have been deployed in Latin America. It represents an escalation of the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua.

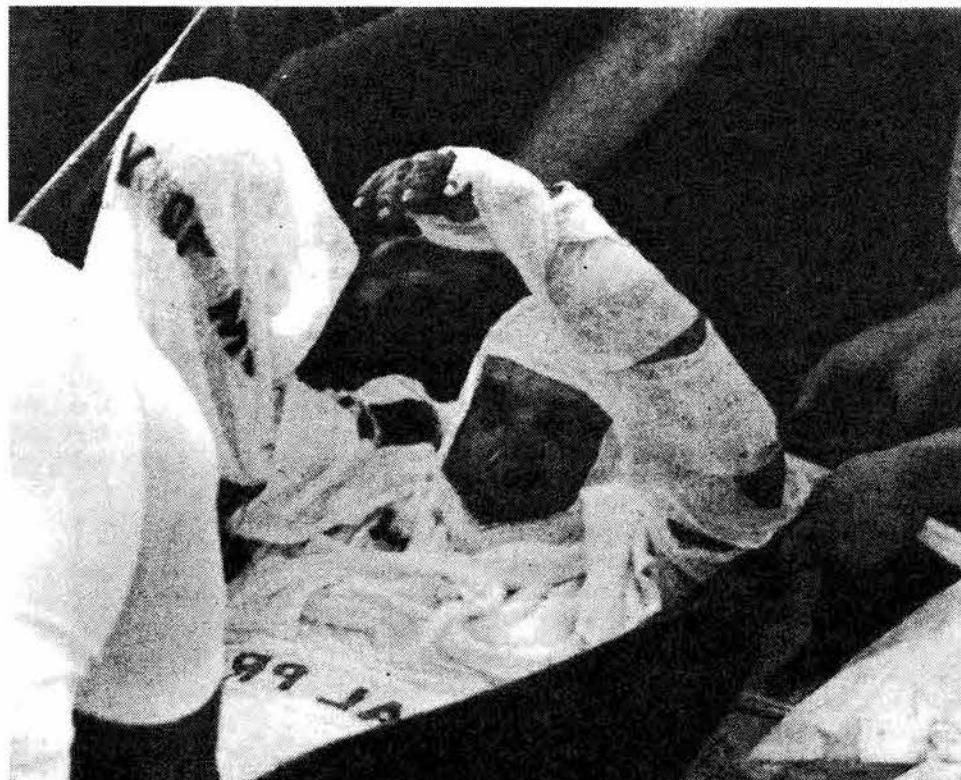
Francisco Cano from Nicaragua's Farm Workers Association (ATC), who is visiting the United States, responded to Reagan administration charges that Cuban pilots were flying the helicopter. He told a December 8 meeting here: "We know very well how to defend ourselves and how to pilot our own helicopters. The U.S. war has forced us to learn."

The protest began outside the United Nations. Activists carried placards with the names and hometowns of each of the soldiers killed in the attack and read them aloud. The demonstrators responded to each name with "Presente!" Then they marched from the U.S. Mission to the UN.

In addition to the New York action, emergency actions were also organized in Boston; Raleigh, North Carolina; Minneapolis; San Francisco; and Ithaca, New York. Protests were also planned for Arizona and St. Louis.

The actions were held in response to a call by the Nicaragua Network.

Explosion was 'like an earthquake'



Speed-up contributed to explosion that killed three workers and injured 40 others at Atlantic Richfield Corporation's refinery in Carson, California.

3 die in Calif. refinery disaster

Continued from front page

building a desulfurization unit only 30 yards from the No. 1 reformer unit.

An earlier investigation had shown that a line coming off one of the vessels in another, nearby reformer unit was so dangerously thin that the unit had to be shut down. It was a similar line on the No. 1 reformer that opened up on December 5.

The Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* reported December 6 that "angry union officials charged yesterday that the company was trying to speed up gasoline production to case workers go on strike next month

[the contract expires Jan. 8, 1986], and that the alleged push to refine more oil might have figured in the fatal blast."

Raul Elizalde, an ARCO employee and a shop steward in the union, told the *Herald-Examiner*, "They're kind of in a rush deal, trying to hurry up and start up the units because the end of the year is getting close."

The refinery produces 4.5 million gallons of gasoline daily. The last time ARCO was cited by California's Occupational Safety and Health Administration for safety violations, the fines reportedly totaled \$850.

ARCO likes to boast about its supposed good safety record. In a small ceremony, management awarded everybody in my department a coffee cup bearing the words, "1,000,000 manhours without a lost time injury." Yet everybody knows the common practice is to force injured workers to report to work to avoid reporting it as a lost time injury.

Like other refiners, ARCO contracts out much of its dirtiest, most dangerous work. Thus, many workers here don't formally work for ARCO but for independent firms. Their injuries are not counted in those "1,000,000 manhours."

One of these employees, who had been working on a tank, plunged to his death.

Why Nicaraguan workers are supporting state of emergency measures

Interview with general secretary of Sandinista Workers Federation

Introduction

On October 15 the Nicaraguan workers' and peasants' government reinstated a series of state of emergency measures. Their purpose is to combat counterrevolutionary terrorism and destabilization attempts, which are part of the war the U.S. government is sponsoring against this small country. The measures give the country's police the power to arrest and hold without normal constitutional guarantees persons suspected of sabotage, assassination, and other counterrevolutionary attacks on the Nicaraguan people.

In declaring the measures, the government explained some of the illegal actions that made the state of emergency necessary. For example, the police had just broken up a plot to bomb public facilities frequented by workers in the capital city of Managua. The conspiracy had been organized by the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the main U.S.-backed mercenary group, whose commanders are ex-officers of the National Guard of dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Somoza ruled Nicaragua until July 19, 1979, when he was overthrown by a popular insurrection of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The Nicaraguan government also shut down a provocative newspaper being published illegally by an office of the Catholic church hierarchy. The paper attacked Nicaragua's right to defend itself from the U.S.-backed mercenaries and urged youth to evade the draft.

Earlier this fall, COSEP, the Nicaraguan big businessmen's association, tried to hold a public meeting to honor a landlord-mercenary killed in 1980 while carrying out terrorist actions against the revolution. The meeting was banned.

The state of emergency measures also prohibit strikes. Opponents of the Nicaraguan revolution in the United States have charged that this is proof that the Sandinistas repress trade unionists.

The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Nicaragua's largest union federation, has come out strongly in favor of the state of emergency. On November 21 in Managua, CST General Secretary Lucio Jiménez gave an interview to *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. In the interview, Jiménez explained the CST's stand and answered the accusations that the state of emergency measures are antiunion.

The interview was conducted in Spanish by Bill Gretter and Cindy Jaquith of the Managua bureau of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

and the *Militant*. It is scheduled to appear in *PM* in the Dec. 30, 1985, issue. Below, we print a full translation of the interview. The translation is by the *Militant*.

Jiménez

Question. Before you take up the state of emergency itself, could you describe to us what conditions were like for Nicaraguan trade unionists under the Somoza regime?

Answer. I think it's important to begin by mentioning that at the point when we overthrew the dictatorship, only 7 percent of the workers were unionized. Only 7 percent! This was logical, of course, because Somoza ran a dictatorial government. Unions weren't just an inconvenience for the military dictatorship, they were a real danger. So the approach they took was very firm; they smashed any move to organize strikes.

For example, I remember very well the first strikes of construction workers, which I participated in. The National Guard showed up armed with clubs and rifles. And they broke their clubs over the workers' heads.

And I remember May Day, toward the very end; 1978, if I'm not mistaken. Of course there was a preinsurrectional situation in Nicaragua at the time. We knew that we were preparing for the decisive battles against the dictatorship. But still we said to ourselves, "We have to turn out in the streets for the working class on May Day." Of course it was very difficult to have a public May Day event outdoors. In other events previously we had been attacked with tear gas, etc.

So we went to the Don Bosco Church. When we got there the entry was blocked off by National Guard patrols. But we said, "Okay, we can't let them mess with our May Day event." So we tore the grates off the windows, and thousands of workers went in. Then the Guard attacked, and some of our people were taken prisoner. Others were able to get out through the windows. I escaped with a group of about 10 people, with the Guard following us.

They set up a 30-millimeter machine gun and began firing. Almost a whole platoon of National Guard troops arrived armed with Galil and M-16 rifles. And in the end, of the 10 *compañeros* in that group, only one or two came out alive.

So with the military dictatorship, it wasn't even possible to celebrate May Day in Nicaragua. That's the kind of thing that we have to compare to the present situation.

Q. Why does the CST favor the state of emergency measures?

A. As you know, we are the victims of a war that has now been going on for more than four years. It puts the revolution in a very difficult situation economically. For example, imagine what it means to us that every time wages are increased — as they have been three times this year, even in the midst of this war — then inflation is just that much worse.

And on top of that, we have to be ready to mobilize ourselves in the Patriotic Military Service [SMP] or in the Sandinista Military Reserves.¹ In the SMP, the first contingents of demobilized youth are now returning victorious. They're returning just at the point when they've completed the tremendous task of putting Reagan's imperialist mercenaries on the defensive strategically. And new contingents are preparing to go off to replace them.

'Survive to win the war'

We have to spend as much as necessary to win the war. And we've chosen to do that. In a serious, responsible, and premeditated way, we have decided to survive in order to win the war. When I say "we"

“State of emergency is weapon to tie hands of imperialist agents . . .”

here, I'm referring to the workers' movement. The workers' movement has the choice of saying, "Look, instead of investing 25 percent of our resources in defense, give it to us in the form of a wage increase."

But we say, "No, it's better to invest that 25 percent in military defense, because that way we can maintain the revolution, and we will never again have the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua." We've chosen the policy of bare survival in order to win the war.

So then what happens? Some internal agents of imperialism think that because there are economic problems — serious economic problems, in fact — that people are discontented and the revolution is weak. That's what they think. They don't realize that this is the alternative that we ourselves have chosen — to survive in order to win the war.

Some of these agents of imperialism, the most important ones, are in COSEP. And some are officials of the church hierarchy, but they're nothing more than mouthpieces for the counterrevolution. Notice, however, that I said "some" because I don't want to confuse some church officials with the large number who are for the people and for the revolution. And I don't want to confuse COSEP with the thousands of *compañeros* who are producing for the revolution. But there are some, and we can't leave their hands free. We can't leave them free to sabotage the gigantic effort of the working class and the combatants.

For example, there was the case of a newspaper put out by these enemies, these agents of imperialism. It was an illegal paper, flagrantly violating the established laws. We cannot permit this: that at the same time that we're struggling to develop the revolution, there's a newspaper that's sabotaging our efforts.

And I'm not talking about *La Prensa*.²

La Prensa is completely free to circulate. In fact, I would even say this: for unionists, it's important to have an exchange of opinions, in order to improve the revolution. We want an exchange of opinions. We don't want to hear only opinions favorable to the revolution; we also want to hear criticism of the revolution, in order to advance the revolution. That's why we're happy with the democratic electoral process that we carried out with the National Assembly, and with the open hearings where we're going to be able to discuss the new constitution.³

But that's not the same as allowing the revolution to be sabotaged by enemy agents who are clearly infiltrated into the rearguard of this great war we're waging.

'Mercenaries are being annihilated'

These sectors can see that the mercenary forces are being annihilated. You too can see that they really are being annihilated. Last year we couldn't even harvest the coffee in many parts of the country, and in other places harvesting it was a real military operation, although we did bring in the harvest.

You as reporters can now go to the coffee farms, and you can compare what you see this year with the previous year. This year we can say that we're in a favorable position to get in the coffee crop. That's why we always talk about production and defense as a single task. Because if we had not put the mercenaries on the defensive, we would not be able to harvest the coffee.

And while the mercenaries are being liquidated, what is imperialism planning? Imperialism is trying to find ways to revive the mercenaries, who are in a strategic defeat.

Of course this strategic defeat is going to cost us more lives and blood, and still greater sacrifices. In the coming year we're going to have to devote even more effort to this. We're going to have to go all out — to hit the mercenaries with crippling blows throughout the country. Because we can say now that we're dealing with crippling blows in some areas, but in other areas that's still not the case.

Why do unionists take this approach? Because we're in agreement with this point of view when we confront problems of supply or wages, or other social problems of the revolution. This is the course that we have chosen.

And we don't do it out of an abstract idea of "defending our power." For many people, maybe for most people in the United States, to speak of "defense of political power" is somewhat abstract. For us it's not abstract, it's concrete. It means the possibility that next year we will have much less difficulty harvesting the coffee, cotton, and sugar, which we use to buy the things we need to survive. These are our sources of foreign exchange income. So this, concretely, is our hope as workers.

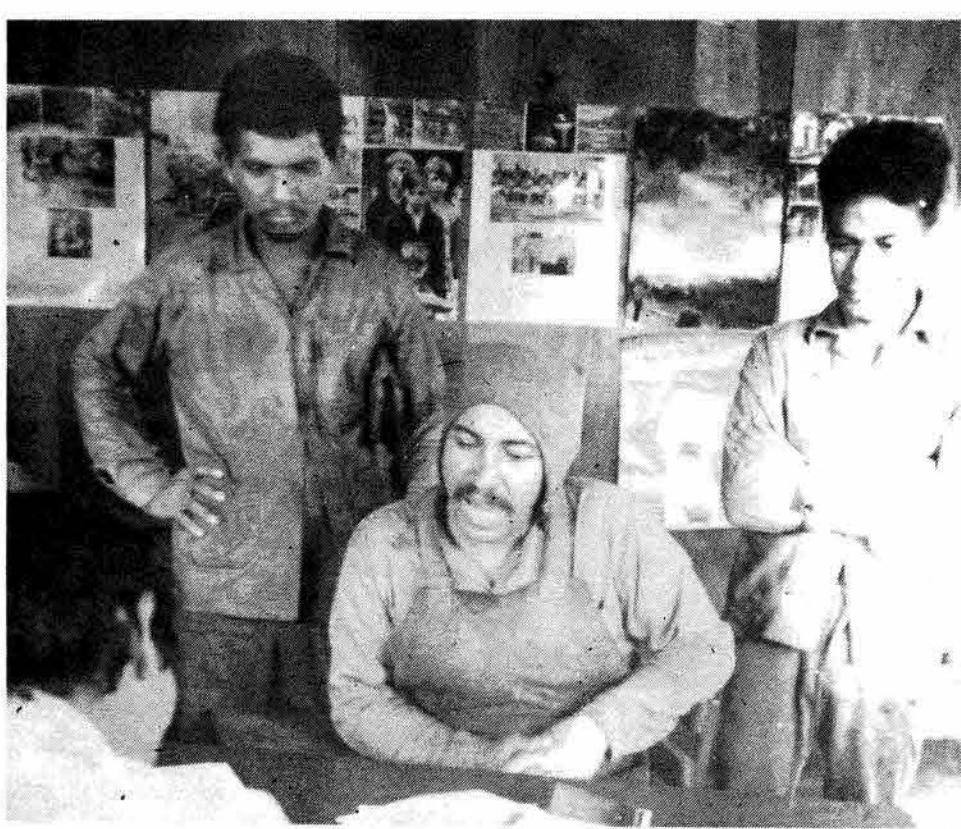
As you can see, the state of emergency is the judicial context that didn't exist before. It is the judicial context which, through this immense sacrifice, the people and the working class are able to develop our struggles and to avoid abuses by the imperialist agents.

I mention the abuses, because there are spokespeople for the counterrevolution who exist here. *La Prensa* is, for all practical purposes, a representative of the mercenaries, a mouthpiece for the Reagan administration.

There's an open debate here. And if the

presses the views of Nicaragua's big landlords and capitalists.

3. In November 1984 Nicaragua held elections for president, vice-president, and national constituent assembly. The National Assembly is currently drawing up a constitution for Nicaragua. Political parties and mass organizations, such as the CST, have presented their proposals for the document. The drafting process will also include open hearings with the Nicaraguan people to gather their proposals on what the constitution should contain.



Militant/Bill Gretter
Workers at a Managua metal fabrication factory sign up for service in army reserves. Jiménez points out that working people have chosen to defend revolution and its gains against U.S.-inspired war — regardless of the sacrifices it may take.

mercenaries want to come back to the capital of Nicaragua, they can do so. They can put down their arms, and they can come back. If they want to, they can try to convince us. They can try to do political work here, if they're able to. Why don't they do it? Because they know they wouldn't succeed.

The revolution opened the doors to them to come back. And who came back? The young men who were tricked and sent off to the mercenaries when they tried to avoid the SMP. The newspapers have reported on those who have gone to Honduras, supposedly to get away from the danger of the war, and what happened to them is that they were sent to the mercenaries instead.

Right to strike

Q. What about the right to strike?

A. I have to tell you that this is a contradictory thing. This is not the first time that we have had the right to strike suspended. You may recall this, since you've been established in Nicaragua for some time. As you remember, the right to strike had been suspended, and it was reestablished in the summer of 1984 at the beginning of the election campaign period.⁴

But even with the right to strike suspended, there were strikes. They were prohibited, they were illegal, but nevertheless there were strikes. And the workers were not punished.

Strikes are prohibited now, just as they were before. What is the contradiction? It's that the working-class movement, the workers as a whole, are one thousand percent convinced that strikes are not our weapon at this time. They're not our method of struggle.

Just imagine what would happen if all the coffee pickers went on strike. What

“The workers' movement has chosen policy of bare survival — in order to win the war . . .”

would we do? Where would we get foreign exchange income?

We know what strikes can do. When we went on strike in the past, we did it to destabilize the Somoza dictatorship. We did it to spark the insurrection. It was not a strike for a wage increase.

When we called for the general strike in 1979 we did it as an initial step — to destabilize the Somoza regime politically, socially, and economically. And then later we called for the insurrection. Of course by that time we had already made the military preparations, and we had thousands of men under arms in Nicaragua.

Every worker in our country understands this. So if the workers go on strike, they do it only in extraordinary cases. It might be, for example, that they have been trying to get a meeting with some government official, and the government official won't show up. Or they've been trying to express their opinion, let's say, about the manager of the company, and nobody pays attention to them. Then they resort to what we might call desperate measures.

The strikes we've had were not numerous. They were isolated cases. And we went out to help the workers to find a solution, for themselves and for the rest of the working class. For them, in the sense of resolving their problem. And for the rest of the working class in the sense of settling it as soon as possible to get production back to normal.

What can we conclude from all this? That under our conditions, with the right to strike suspended, there were strikes. It was not the desirable thing for the working

4. The state of emergency was first instituted in 1982 as part of Nicaragua's defense against the mercenary war organized by the U.S. government. In mid-1984, the government temporarily lifted some of the restrictions, including the ban on strikes, during the country's election campaign period.



Militant/Bill Gretter

CST leader Lucio Jiménez during interview

class. The strikes were not desirable, but neither were they repressed.

Now we're going into the state of emergency again. The right to strike is suspended. Once again, we do not want strikes, because they can be used by the agents of imperialism as a pretext to destabilize the revolution.

We do not want strikes. Really, what we want is to avoid delays, for example, in getting machetes. That's what we want. Because if we don't get machetes, we won't be able to get in the sugar harvest.

What we want is to avoid delays in getting the supplies we need, so we won't fall behind in the cotton harvest. What we want is for the trade unionists in France, which is where we get John Deere machinery, to help us get the repair parts we need for our equipment so we can work. That's what we want — to be able to work.

Of course, we have to make an effort to convince the compañeros who support the other trade union currents. And we have to convince our own trade union compañeros too, who go out on strike when they think that they have no alternative. Whether or not to have the right to strike is a decision for the working class itself. It's something that we have taken on.

So for us, the state of emergency is a weapon to tie the hands of the imperialist agents. As for the right to strike, what we have to do, and are doing, is to move to solve those problems that the revolution can solve, so that the revolution is not responsible for the problems that aren't solved.

For example, we realized that some basic consumer goods were increasing in price by as much as 300 percent between the time they left the factory and the time they arrived in the Workers Supply Centers or commissaries. The war is not responsible for this. This is our problem. What are we doing? What is our struggle? We have to get those prices down. And we have succeeded in reducing significantly the prices

of many basic consumer goods for the workers.⁵

But if someone says, "Let's stop inflation," that can't be done. It's not caused by the revolution. Our inflation is imported, because the products that we buy abroad are more and more expensive, and the goods we sell are cheaper and cheaper.

And if we add on top of that the war that the Yankees have imposed on us, and are imposing, then we have a situation that's beyond our control. The working class understands this. What they don't understand is if the problems that we do control are not resolved. That's how we see the right to strike.

In our proposal for the new constitution, we put forward the right to strike as a right in Nicaragua. Intrinsically in the revolution, there is the right to strike. We say that strikes are a last resort, and should only be used for extraordinary reasons. That's why we say it's contradictory. Because at the same time that it clearly is a right, it's a right that we try not to use, because the enemies of the revolution can take advantage of it.

'A political rifle'

Now to conclude this idea, it's important to point out that the state of emergency in Nicaragua is not the same as a state of emergency in other countries. For example, during the continental day of action against the foreign debt, if you recall, there were incidents that even included deaths in some Latin American countries.⁶ Here we

5. The Workers Supply Centers are large stores with a variety of goods for sale to workers at prices below those charged in the private markets. As a result of a campaign by the CST, prices on the goods in these centers were further reduced a significant amount this fall.

6. The continental day of action, a protest against the Latin American foreign debt, was held on October 23. Hundreds of thousands of unionists throughout Latin America held dem-

had a day of activities, and discussed what to do about the problem of the debt.

The state of emergency in our case is to block the agents of imperialism, so they don't have their hands free to sabotage the revolutionary process. It's so that we as workers can devote ourselves to deepening the revolution.

There are people who believe that in Nicaragua there are soldiers on every street corner; people can't move around freely; there's a curfew. So it's important for you to clarify for readers in the United States and elsewhere that this is not the case. Really, the state of emergency is a weapon in the hands of the workers. It's like a rifle — a political rifle. It's like the SMP, a weapon in the hands of the workers to confront the imperialist aggression on all fronts.

We think that public opinion internationally will see how valuable this measure is. I'm sure it won't be understood overnight. But public opinion internationally — and the workers — will understand when they evaluate it after it's been in force for a year. They'll see how the revolution has advanced, even in the midst of the war. That's what's important.

I think it would be good for you to take up the state of emergency now, and then take it up again after a year. And evaluate it. Because we are not suggesting that people should accept it uncritically.

I'm sure that when we sit down again to evaluate what's happened with the state of emergency, not even a year from now, let's say six months from now, we will see that we have really made a great contribution to the international struggle of the working class. Because we're going to consolidate this revolution. And we're going to come out victorious against the greatest military power in the world. That's our revolutionary contribution to the working class.

Solidarity from U.S. unionists

Q. What kind of solidarity do you need most from trade unionists in the United States?

A. What we say is this: We know that we have a lot of friends in the United States. But we also know that we have enemies — Reagan is the first of them. So the primary solidarity is for U.S. citizens who know about Nicaragua to tell the truth. And for those who don't know, to pay no attention to the enemy propaganda, but to try to find out about the revolution firsthand, particularly by visiting here. We want them to come to Nicaragua, find out what's going on, and become spokespeople for what a true revolution is. We want them to understand what the revolution is, in order to tie Reagan's hands when he tries to intervene against us.

ontractions, strikes, and other activities. In Ecuador, two workers were killed by police during the protests.

Nicaraguans ready to bring in coffee harvest

BY HÉCTOR CARRIÓN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Enthusiasm is running high among the Nicaraguan people as they organize to participate in this year's coffee harvest.

Some 30,500 volunteers are expected to participate, many of them for the duration of the three-month harvest. Just from the Sandinista Youth, some 19,000 students have volunteered to go. Five thousand government workers from the National Union of Employees, 3,000 from the Sandinista People's Army, and 1,500 from the Ministry of the Interior will also participate.

The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), which organizes the big majority of Nicaraguan industrial workers, is sending a more modest number of members on the full-time brigades because of the need to maintain production in the factories. Most CST members will be picking coffee on Sundays, after completing their week's work.

All these volunteers are in addition to

some 30,000 farm workers who regularly pick coffee.

The Nicaraguan Committee In Solidarity With the Peoples (CNSP) announced that some 1,200 volunteers from 15 other countries will join the harvest. The CNSP is expecting eight brigades from the United States, four from Canada, and other brigades from Austria, Belgium, Spain, Greece, Italy, France, and Luxembourg. In addition, internationalists residing in Nicaragua will form a Maurice Bishop Brigade, named after the slain leader of the Grenada revolution.

Coffee is the main source of export income for Nicaragua. It is expected that some 55,000 tons will be harvested, and out of this, 45,000 tons will be export quality.

The price of coffee this year on the international market is better than in previous years. Henry Matus, director of coffee production in the Ministry of Agrarian Development and Reform, reported that each hundred pounds of coffee is worth \$140 and that the income from coffee alone will

bring in almost half of Nicaragua's foreign exchange income.

The coffee harvest will last from December through February. Thousands of workers and students have already departed from the capital city of Managua to the northern part of the country, where most of the coffee plantations are located.

Last year hundreds of acres of coffee could not be picked because of the terrorist activities of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries in these areas. This year the blows dealt to these *contras* by the Sandinista army have created better conditions to harvest the coffee. Many mercenaries have been killed and others driven back across the border to their bases in Honduras.

But the Nicaraguan people are not taking any chances. For more protection, the Sandinista army has deployed many troops around the coffee plantations, and workers and students participating in the coffee harvest in the areas close to Honduras are armed with AK-47 automatic rifles.

BUILDING ANTI-APARTHEID AND ANTIWAR ACTIONS

400 demand U.S. out of Central America, South Africa

BY LAURA FLICKER

SEATTLE — More than 400 people marched here on November 16, demanding "U.S. out of Central America and South Africa." The action was organized by the Northwest Action for Peace, Jobs and Justice, which coordinated the April 20 national day of antiwar protest held here earlier this year.

The rally at the Labor Temple was endorsed by some 75 community and antiwar groups and several union locals.

Leo Robinson of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 condemned Washington's funding of the "international pimps" in Nicaragua who destroy health-care clinics.

He pointed to the solidarity his union local has extended to the African National Congress (ANC) by donating \$2,000 to them.

Two representatives from the ANC, Basil Freeman and Adela Makuka, gave greetings and urged continued solidarity with their struggle against apartheid.

The coordinator of the rally, Gerry Condon of Veterans Against Intervention in Central America, said, "They beat the drums for national patriotism and chauvinism and try to whip up" prowar sentiments in order to ready the U.S. public for intervention in Central America.

Amed Amr of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), drew the links be-



Militant
Four hundred march November 16 in Seattle, Washington. Speakers at rally pointed to connection between U.S. government support to apartheid in South Africa and U.S. government war against Nicaragua.

tween racism here, U.S. support to apartheid, and Washington's backing of the oppression of the Palestinian people. He condemned the recent assassination of Alex Odeh, an ADC leader in California.

Edgar Lopez from Casa El Salvador Libre urged opposition to the U.S. intervention in El Salvador and talked about the recent strike wave there.

Linda Layton, president of International Association of Machinists Local 2202, representing workers who recently struck Alaska Airlines for 12 weeks, also spoke.

Those interested in finding out about future activities can write to: NWAPJ, P.O. Box 84061, Seattle, Wash., or call (206) 328-2451.

11 states pass divestment bills

According to Dumisani Kumalo, project director for the American Committee on Africa, "Right now 40 states have passed or are debating divestment bills. This is the second-most-discussed legislation in the country, second only to raising the drinking age."

Under pressure from the growing fight against apartheid, 11 states and the Virgin Islands, as well as at least 35 cities and a half-dozen counties, have barred or limited their investments in companies doing business in South Africa.

The following is a listing of states, cities, and counties that

have acted:

Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Wisconsin.

Atlantic City, N.J.; Berkeley, Calif.; Boston, Mass.; Boulder, Colo.; Burlington, Vt.; Cambridge, Mass.; Charlottesville, Va.; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cuyahoga County, Ohio; Davis, Calif.; East Lansing, Mich.; Fort Collins, Colo.; Gainesville, Fla.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Hartford, Conn.; and Jersey City, N.J.

Also, Los Angeles, Calif.; Madison, Wis.; Miami, Fla.; Middletown, Conn.; Montgomery County, Md.; Newark, N.J.; New Orleans, La.; New York, N.Y.;

Oakland, Calif.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rahway, N.J.; Richmond, Va.; Rochester, N.Y.; Rockland County, N.Y.; San Francisco, Calif.; San Jose, Calif.; Santa Cruz, Calif.; Stockton, Calif.; Washington, D.C.; Westchester County, N.Y.; Wilmington, Del.; Youngstown, Ohio.

Trinidad workers rally against apartheid, debt

Several thousand workers and farmers rallied October 23 in Port of Spain, Trinidad, to protest the Latin American foreign debt, South African apartheid, and conditions facing Trinidadian working people.

The rally was the highlight of a "national day of sacrifice and solidarity." Demonstrators converged on the capital city of that Caribbean country by car and truck caravans from several regions of the island. Some workers from the island of Tobago took part, too.

Represented at the event were members of 18 unions and farmers' associations, as well as many unemployed working people. Major speeches were given by union leaders in the sugar, oil, and aviation industries and by the president of the National Food Crop Farmers Association.

The rally adopted resolutions calling for boycotting sports and cultural events with ties to South Africa and for a one-day general strike against the antiworker practices of the Trinidadian employers.

Anti-apartheid protesters arrested at Winn-Dixie



Foes of South Africa regime sit in at Winn-Dixie's Decatur, Georgia, store.

BY KATE DAHER AND FRED WHITE

ATLANTA — On November 27, the day before Thanksgiving, 20 anti-apartheid fighters were arrested in Decatur, Georgia. They were sitting in at a Winn-Dixie supermarket to protest the sale of canned fruit and frozen fish imported from South Africa.

Among those arrested were: Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Joseph Lowery, Evelyn Lowery, and their daughter Cheryl; Paul McLennan, Amalgamated Transit Union; DeKalb County Commissioner John Evans; and State Representative Douglas Dean.

All those arrested spent the night and

most of Thanksgiving in jail.

The sit-in is part of a boycott organized by the SCLC after SCLC/Women found canned peaches and pears imported from South Africa on the shelves of the supermarket chain.

Significant support for the nine-week-old boycott has come from labor unions, church groups, women's rights organizations, and peace and anti-apartheid activists in 10 of the 13 states where Winn-Dixie has its 1,262 stores.

At a rally and press conference on November 21 to denounce Winn-Dixie's support for apartheid, Herb Mabry, president of the Georgia State AFL-CIO, declared, "We have no alternative than to join with SCLC and ask the people of this nation to boycott Winn-Dixie until they take these products off the shelves."

Atlanta's Labor Council president, Richard Ray, said, "We must tell everyone in this country of the atrocities taking place in South Africa. For a corporation such as Winn-Dixie to continue to sell its products is a disgrace. The labor movement is behind this effort, and we will overcome."

Lowery pointed to Winn-Dixie's policies in the United States as a reflection of its support for apartheid, calling the outfit "antilabor, anti-Black, and antiwomen."

Two days later 100 people from the National Organization for Women (NOW) and SCLC picketed the chain store in Atlanta during NOW's three-day national board meeting.

"I'm delighted to join the picket line," said NOW President Eleanor Smeal. "I think it is disgraceful what is happening in South Africa, not only the killings, but also the dehumanizing that is going on. It is really a form of slavery."

Labor News

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

FSLN's constitutional proposals in 'IP'

"The Sandinista Front [FSLN] believes that formal constitutional status should be accorded to the rights for which the heroic people of Sandino fought until they achieved the revolutionary triumph on July 19, 1979, and for which the people continue to fight, defending these rights from foreign aggression."

"The blood of the peasants, workers, Indians, youth, women, and children... demands a constitution that formalizes the eradication of exploitation of man by man."

These words are part of the FSLN's contribution to the discussion of what kind of a constitution is needed for revolutionary Nicaragua.

The full text of the FSLN statement, presented by President Daniel Ortega, will be published in the next issue of *Intercontinental Press*, dated December 30.

The FSLN proposal reviews the history of class oppression up through the Somoza regime, during which time "feudal, mercantile, and capitalist monopoly was on the

throne" and only the "landlords, rich merchants, bosses, and bankers had the right to exercise political power."

Ortega's presentation also explains the continuity between the FSLN's program before the overthrow of Somoza and the accomplishments of the revolution in its first six years.

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Jim Crow system in U.S. South and apartheid in South Africa

Excerpts from 'New International'

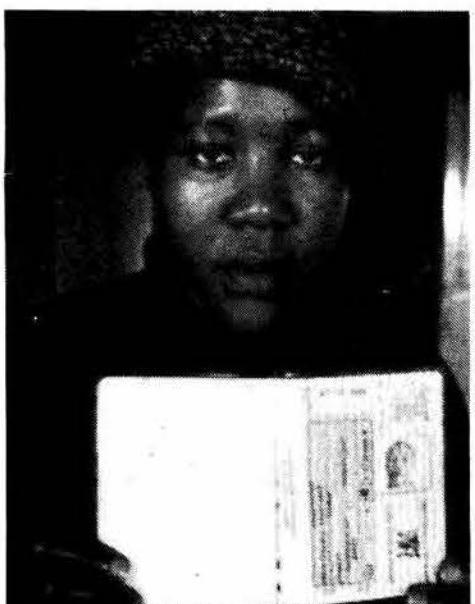
The feature article in the latest issue of the magazine *New International* is a report by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on "The Coming Revolution in South Africa."

That report was discussed and adopted by the National Committee of the SWP at its August meeting.

The report discusses the national, democratic revolution that is unfolding in South Africa and the role of the working class and the peasantry in that revolution. It also takes up the leadership role of the African National Congress (ANC) and the impact the South African revolution is having, not only in Africa, but on workers and farmers throughout the world, including in the United States.

The *Militant* is running brief excerpts from the article to encourage readers to pick up this issue.

The section below compares South African apartheid to the "Jim Crow" system of institutionalized racism that existed in the U.S. South until the 1960s and was destroyed by the massive civil rights movement.



Apartheid regime forces Blacks to carry identification passes.

The Jim Crow system in the U.S. South offers a useful analogy to apartheid. That may seem to contradict what we noted earlier about the unique character of apartheid. But it does not, if the analogy is used correctly. The Jim Crow parallel is particularly useful for us in the United States since it relates the struggle in South Africa to the historic battle that working people here lived through, fought, and won only recently — in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Jim Crow system at its fullest development was the attempt in the states of the old Confederacy to institutionalize, codify in law, and make permanent the expropriation and oppression of Black people — the freed slaves and their descendants — by separating them from all economic, social, and political activity engaged in by white people. It was, by its very nature, intended to be all-encompassing. Its purpose was to make it as difficult as possible for Blacks to become free farmers and to make it impossible for them ever to compete on an equal basis with white workers in selling their labor power to the capitalists.

Jim Crow segregation was imposed and perpetuated through force and violence organized both by the state and by extralegal means, such as the Ku Klux Klan terror units. From the smashing of Radical Reconstruction in the late 1870s to the victory of the civil rights movement almost a century afterwards, it was hard to find a sheriff in the U.S. South who was not also an organizer of the local Klan. The state-authorized force and violence and the extralegal force and violence went hand-in-hand.

Denial of citizenship rights — centered around denial of the right to vote — was essential to the maintenance of this legally sanctioned tyranny over Black workers and farmers. This, too, was enforced by a combination of legal institutions (such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and segregated jury lists) and night-riding terror against those who tried to break through these barriers. That is why the battlecry of "One man, one vote!" became so central to the civil rights struggle — a slogan that is echoing back today from the cities, townships, and countryside of South Africa.



Bob Adelman

Civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama, during 1960s. Movement that overthrew segregation in U.S. South stressed parallels between Jim Crow system of legally sanctioned tyranny over Blacks and apartheid system in South Africa.

The civil rights movement used to stress the parallels between Jim Crow and apartheid, between Selma, Alabama, and Johannesburg, South Africa. This reflected a reality. South Africa was not really so far away.

The logic of the Jim Crow system was not to return to chattel slave labor. No, the logic of Jim Crow, fully developed, was apartheid: the subjugation of Blacks as an estate, with no right to own land, and no right to compete on an equal basis with white workers in the sale of their labor power. (Lenin stressed the "startling similarity" between the conditions of Blacks in the South at the beginning of this century and those of the peasant estate in tsarist Russia. Black sharecroppers, he noted, were "exploited by former slave-owners in feudal or semi-feudal fashion.")

The parallels between the South African struggle and what workers and farmers in this country fought for, conquered, and today jealously guard help to explain the depth of the identification of many U.S. working people with the current battles in South Africa.

Nonetheless, the apartheid system goes beyond what the architects of Jim Crow in the South were able to implement. Unlike apartheid, Jim Crow segregation did not become completely intertwined with the entire state structure in the United States. It was the product of the bloody defeat of Radical Reconstruction in the states of the old slavocracy. As a result, the Jim Crow system could be smashed by mighty civil

rights battles in the 1950s and 1960s without challenging the state structure of U.S. imperialism itself.

This is where the analogy between apartheid and Jim Crow reaches its limit. Apartheid is the legal institutionalization of the complete expropriation of the African people; it is state control over every aspect of their labor and life. The African peoples there had a history of thousands of years of productive life on the land, and development of culture. Their tools, their land, and their cattle were stripped from them first in bloody wars of conquest, and then by the institutionalization and enforcement of apartheid rule.

Having been forcibly robbed of their land and tools, the African peoples were swept into the mines and factories, and onto the capitalist plantations, as proletarians. But they were not free proletarians. They got all the worst that came with being made propertyless: they lost all they owned, and were driven from their land. But they gained none of the freedoms that under other conditions have historically accompanied proletarianization: freedom from being tied to the land; freedom to sell your labor power on the market on an equal basis with all other workers; freedom to change jobs, to pack up and move from one part of the country to another, or even abroad, seeking work under the best conditions and for the highest pay available; freedom from all the reactionary encumbrances, restraints, and prejudices of feudal society.

Apartheid foes win release

Continued from front page

African Trade Unions (COSATU). Two days later, 40,000 attended the funeral for 12 people who had been murdered by the cops near the capital city of Pretoria. After the funeral, Winnie Mandela, a leader of the anti-apartheid struggle, defied a government ban and gave her first public speech in 25 years.

Twenty thousand attended a funeral in the Black township of Mlunsi December 7 in protest over another police massacre. Elijah Barayi, the newly elected president of COSATU, addressed the crowd.

Several leaders of the UDF were arrested in October 1984. The arrests followed the coalition's success in organizing a boycott of August 1984 elections to powerless chambers of parliament for Coloured and Indian representatives. Africans were barred from voting.

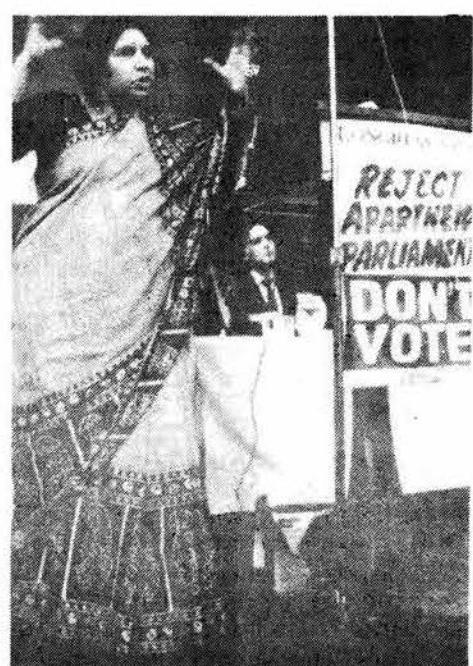
The elections were an attempt by the government to divide the Black population and preserve white minority rule. The majority of Indians and Coloureds refused to participate in them.

Other UDF defendants, including Sisulu and several trade union leaders, were swept up in raids in February. The cops also ransacked the offices of churches, trade unions, and community organizations.

All 16 defendants were held without bail until May.

Four defendants that still have frame-up

charges pending against them in this case are all members of the South African Allied Workers Union, which belongs to the newly formed COSATU union federation. Another 22 leaders of the UDF also have treason charges pending against them.



United Democratic Front led last year's successful boycott of elections to apartheid parliament.

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The fall 1985 New International

The dynamics of revolution in South Africa is featured in the current issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Fighters against apartheid, in the United States and other countries, will find valuable material here in equipping themselves politically to carry on the struggle. Articles and speeches by: Jack Barnes, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Cuba's President Fidel Castro; and Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*. Reprints South Africa's "Freedom Charter."

Send \$5 plus 75 cents handling and postage to New International, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Bill White: 40 years in socialist movement

Dedicated revolutionary fighter, unionist, and opponent of racism

The following article is reprinted from the November 25 issue of *Socialist Voice*, a biweekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada, the sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

BY JOHN STEELE

On October 9, Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) member Bill White died in Vancouver.

Under the impact of the first decade of the October 1917 Russian revolution and the hardships of the Great Depression of the early 1930s, Bill became a staunch working-class fighter and revolutionary unionist, which he remained to the end of his life.

Bill, who was Black, was born on April 7, 1913, in Aberdeen, South Dakota. As a child of six in Winnipeg, where his father worked as a railway porter, Bill was drawn into the 1919 general strike. Bill and his childhood companions did their part to aid the strikers by throwing their collection of marbles under the hooves of the RCMP's [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] horses.

In his teens, while working at a sawmill in Thunder Bay, Bill helped build the Industrial Workers of the World. In 1933 at the time of its foundation, he joined the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the forerunner of the NDP [New Democratic Party, Canada's union-based labor party]. At the age of 22 he was a member of the Bridge River miners' union in British Columbia.

At the outbreak of World War II, along with many other young workers, Bill found himself in the Canadian army. Following his stint in the army, he found work as a riveter in the government-run shipyards at Prince Rupert [British Columbia]. He became a member and leader of the Boilermakers' union.

In the wake of the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler's army, a sharp controversy erupted in the union over a proposal that workers support the Liberal gov-

ernment's war effort through a "no-strike pledge." Supporters of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which had taken over the Soviet Union after the death of Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin and the forced exile of his close collaborator Leon Trotsky, were behind the proposal. Trotsky supporter Paddy Stanton took the floor to explain that the no-strike pledge would ultimately weaken the defense of the world's first workers state and the struggle for socialism in Canada. After discussions with Stanton, Bill joined the Trotskyist group in Prince Rupert and became a communist. "That's when I changed from a rebel looking for a cause to a revolutionary with a cause," he explained.

Bill was among a small number of revolutionary workers active across Canada defending the communist perspective upheld by Trotsky against Joseph Stalin after the death of Lenin. In 1928, under Stalin's pressure, central leaders of Canada's first communist party, formed in 1921, were expelled for "Trotskyism," as they were in the United States.

In 1934, Canadian Trotskyists formed the Workers Party of Canada (WPC). It was one of five parties that called for the formation of the Fourth International, which was established in 1938. Shortly before the start of World War II, the WPC be-

came the Socialist Workers League. It was declared illegal under the Defense of Canada Regulations in 1939.

Under conditions of illegality, the work of Bill and his comrades helped lay the groundwork for the first pan-Canadian conference of Trotskyists, which took place in Montreal in 1944. The decisions of the conference resulted in the launching of the Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP), the Canadian section of the Fourth International, in 1946.

The RWP was the direct descendant of the 1921 communist party, and there is a direct line of continuity between the RWP and the RWL, which was formed in 1977 through the fusion of three revolutionary parties. The work of Bill and others of his generation ensured that the thread of communist continuity was not broken.

Bill was a determined fighter against racism. The July-August 1947 issue of the RWP's paper *Labor Challenge* reported on a racist attack that he was the victim of. "The Jim Crow eviction of a Negro worker and his wife from a Vancouver hotel is arousing vigorous protests from workers here." Bill, along with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers at the Britannia Beach mine where he worked, the Boilermakers in North Vancouver, and the Vancouver Labor Council, carried a strong public

campaign against the hotel's racist management.

Four decades later, inspired by the rising anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, Bill said with typical optimism: "It [the racist apartheid system] can't last much longer. The workers are going to take over."

Sick with silicosis, the fatal lung disease he contracted in the mines, Bill was unable to work after 1971. Nonetheless, along with his union, then the United Steelworkers, Bill fought a landmark battle, forcing the B.C. Workers Compensation Board to recognize his illness as an occupational disease.

Bill was inspired by the 1979 decision of the RWL to take on the job of building a Marxist current inside the major pan-Canadian industrial unions. He saw this as a guarantee that in the years to come a Marxist workers party would be built with the capacity to lead the workers and farmers to political power.

During his final years, Bill used his considerable skills as an educator to pass on his experience and knowledge to the younger members of the RWL taking their first jobs in industry. His decades-long contribution is a solid and irreplaceable part of the foundation of the communist movement being built today.

St. Louis: UAW ends Chrysler strike

BY JIM GARRISON
AND JOE ALLOR

ST. LOUIS — Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 110 voted November 25 to approve the local agreement at Chrysler's Plant 2 here by a margin of 77 to 23 percent. The ratification ended a three-week strike by some 3,000 workers at the plant.

The agreement is the first contract negotiated with the local since Plant 2 reopened in 1983 following a three-year shutdown. The operating agreement in force during the last two years was marked by a drastic reduction in job classifications and seniority rights in comparison with earlier agreements and with most other local contracts in the industry. Chrysler management had portrayed the expired operating agreement as part of their "New Concept" in auto production to increase efficiency.

While the contract does not restore work rules to the conditions existing prior to the plant closing in 1980, important steps have been taken to push back management's "New Concept" schemes. Job classifications, which had been reduced to 10 in 1983, were expanded to 27. This compares with more than 70 classifications recognized in previous agreements.

Union members also regained the right to use their seniority to gain preferred job assignments as they become open in the plant. Previously, the company had sole authority to assign jobs according to their own criteria. Returning seniority rights strengthens the union.

The union also won specific language prohibiting the reassignment of workers for purpose of harassment. This has been a common experience in the past two years when workers have stood up for their rights or were otherwise considered "problems" by their foremen.

Other gains resulting from the struggle included the right to an expanded union presence in the plant, with four committeemen on the plant floor instead of three and greater flexibility in scheduling vacations.

The turning point in the strike occurred on November 21 when Chrysler broke off negotiations and announced that members of Local 110 would not receive payments due them the following day. The \$2,150 they were owed was the "bonus" Chrysler workers received for ratifying the national contract negotiated with the company in October.

The following morning, strikers — angered by Chrysler's "bonus" blackmail — demonstrated at the plant. Workers entered the plant and demanded their checks. UAW officials announced they would file

suit, charging the company with breach of contract. As second-shift workers began to arrive for work at Chrysler's neighboring Plant 1, strikers picketed the gates, urging workers to support their demands. Plant 1 is organized by UAW Local 136. To show solidarity with Local 110, about one-third of the workers stayed away from work that evening. Chrysler was unable to operate the plant. Strikers from Local 110 expressed their intention to return to Plant 1 and picket again the following Monday.

The company reopened negotiations over the weekend, and the union announced a tentative agreement on Sunday morning. Chrysler announced that it would

distribute the "bonus" checks on Monday morning before the union's vote on the contract proposal.

On returning to work, many workers expressed the view that they had made some gains as a result of the strike. They also feel that the real test of the contract will come in the day-to-day implementation.

Workers in Plant 2 know that behind Chrysler's talk of "new beginnings in team work" there lies a constant battle to sidestep even the limited gains of the new contract. As if to underscore that view, the company announced a speedup on the assembly line, adding two cars per hour, or 30 more each day over the two shifts.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

'PM' on FENASTRAS convention

Three hundred members of the National Trade Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) were able to convene their 17th convention in early November in the capital city of San Salvador.

The victory that this represents for the Salvadoran labor movement was underscored by the fact that the meeting was attended by representatives of most of the other trade union federations in El Salvador, as well as representatives of human rights organizations and 40 international observers and journalists.

Héctor Recinos, a well-known trade union leader, was also able to return to the country briefly for the convention.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* covers the FENASTRAS convention. It also reprints excerpts from a speech by Cuban leader Fidel Castro, where he discusses the feasibility of the proposal by the president of Peru for limiting the huge foreign debt that burdens the semicolonial countries.



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International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant December 1985

Kate Richards O'Hare: pioneer socialist agitator

BY ERLING SANNE

Selected Writings and Speeches of Kate Richards O'Hare. Edited by Phillip S. Foner and Sally M. Miller, Louisiana State University Press. Available from Midwest Distributors, Box 4642, Kansas City, Mo. 64109. Paperback: \$9.95 plus 85¢ postage.

From widely scattered manuscript collections, old radical newspapers, and other sources, Foner and Miller have assembled many, but by no means all, of the speeches and writings of Kate Richards O'Hare, the most renowned socialist woman of the "golden age" of the Socialist Party in the United States.

Kate Richards O'Hare covered more territory and delivered more speeches on socialism than any other member of the party, with the possible exception of Eugene V. Debs. She spoke in every state, as well as in Canada, Mexico, and Britain. She was one of the first people and one of only a few women to be convicted and sentenced to federal prison under the 1917 Espionage Act.

Dubbed "Red Kate" by her opponents, she was regarded by many as the foremost woman orator in America. Eugene Debs referred to her affectionately as the voice of the voiceless.

No biography of her has ever been published, and Foner and Miller's book is a significant contribution because it is the first attempt to renew popular interest in the life of this remarkable woman.

Born in Central Kansas

O'Hare was born on March 26, 1876, on a stock farm in Central Kansas. The year 1876 was one of the worst of the long depression that began with the 1873 panic and lasted until 1879. Those years were marked by hard times for workers, who faced mass unemployment and drastic wage cuts, and for farmers, who began protesting high freight rates and low prices. The ground was fertile for revolt, as farmers and workers began to realize they had a common enemy — the bankers, railroads, and packing-houses.

O'Hare's parents, Andrew and Lucy Richards, were not poor people when they left Kentucky some 10 years earlier to homestead in Kansas. They had brought with them what in those days was a comfortable fortune of between \$10,000 and \$15,000 in livestock and equipment.

As a child, O'Hare learned from her father, a partially disabled Civil War veteran, that he had fought to destroy chattel slavery and that his grandfather had served with George Washington all through the revolution, fighting for freedom and independence from Britain.

Andrew Richards struggled to make a success of his farm, but conditions grew more and more desperate. At the age of 11, O'Hare's happy, carefree childhood on the Kansas plains ended abruptly when the 1887 drought and depression completely devastated the family.

Childhood memories of her father's face, gray and set, and her mother's tear-filled eyes when the last of the cattle were sold and the house dismantled haunted her for the rest of her life.

Forced off the farm, her father moved the family to Kansas City, where he took up the life of a wage earner in the poverty-cursed section of the city. She never forgot that first long, bitter-cold winter in Kansas City when her father brought home \$9 a week to provide for the needs of a family of five children.

The wretched poverty, misery, hunger, and want of hundreds of men, women, and children tramping the streets begging for food and shelter was seared upon her memory and remained with her throughout her life as "a picture of inferno as Dante never painted."

Her father was a follower of the Henry George single-tax movement, and the Kansas City group met at the Richards' home. As a young teenager, O'Hare often attended their meetings, where she was introduced to such books as Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Ignatius Donnelly's *Caesar's Column*, and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.

Earling Sannes of Bismarck, North Dakota, has done extensive original research on Kate Richards O'Hare.

In 1895 after his release from Woodstock prison, Eugene Debs visited the family, and O'Hare heard him speak about the plight of the railroad workers. His talk had a profound effect on her, and she "became convinced that there was something radically wrong with a government and public opinion that would permit the jailing of so fine a young man merely because he had tried to better the conditions of oppressed workers."

First female member of IAM

In 1894, O'Hare went to work as a bookkeeper in a small Kansas City machine shop where her father had earlier obtained employment as a machinist. She soon found she was more interested in mechanics and became an apprentice despite the machinist union's male-only policy. The men laughed at her, teased her, and gave her the dirtiest, greasiest work in the shop. But she successfully completed the apprenticeship and before the turn of the century became the first woman member of the International Association of Machinists.

One night after returning from a union meeting, she heard a man talking on the street corner about the need for working men to have a political party of their own. She found out from a bystander that the man was a socialist. A few weeks later at a socialist lecture, she heard Mother Jones, the famed labor organizer, discuss the need for workers to have their own political party. After the meeting she asked Mother Jones to tell her about socialism and was introduced to some of the Kansas City socialists, who gave her a supply of books to read. One of the books was Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*. O'Hare later described her first meeting with Mother Jones as one of the mileposts in her life.

Years later she said her interest in the labor movement developed when she experienced labor problems firsthand. It was those years working in the machine shop, standing for hours before a whirling lathe or over a hot forge or wielding the hammer over the anvil, that brought her in contact with the wage-earning class. Of those years, she wrote:

"I saw the wage system in all its accursedness. There I saw men, dumb and paralysed with an unsatisfied longing for the brush, the pen, the soil, or for the whispering forest, bound to a lathe or forge, in the roar of machinery that is music to him who loves it and hell to him who hates it. I saw men . . . fall to miserable, servile, cringing slaves, afraid to hold up their heads and say they were men because some man had it in his power to take their means of life away — not only theirs but that of their wives and babies. I saw fathers robbed of two-thirds of the products of their labor and little children's lives coined into profits. . . . I could stand it no longer, so I hung up my cap and went out in the fight for Socialism."

Founder of Socialist Party

In 1899 O'Hare joined the Socialist Labor Party, along with her father. She later left the SLP. In the summer of 1901 she became a founding member of the Socialist Party of America. O'Hare attended a training school for party workers where she met and married fellow student Frank P. O'Hare, an Iowa-born socialist from St. Louis. After their marriage in January 1902, they set out on a lecturing and organizing tour that took them through Kansas and Missouri and into the Pennsylvania and West Virginia mine fields where, along with Mother Jones, they organized for socialism and raised money for the striking miners' relief fund.

With no money to return home, they went on to New York City. O'Hare worked in various factories and sweatshops to get facts about child labor and exploitation of women in order to make her propaganda more effective. In 1903 they returned to Kansas City, where she served as an organizer and "labor spy" for the Armour packinghouse workers. Between 1904 and 1908, the O'Hares farmed in Oklahoma Territory. O'Hare aggressively defended Indian rights from corporate "grafters" and worked as an organizer lecturing on socialism in isolated mining communities and remote rural hamlets. Not able to make a living on their small farm, they returned to

Continued on next page



Continued from previous page

Kansas City with their four small children in 1908.

O'Hare entered the first of her many political contests when she ran as a socialist for Congress from the Second District in Kansas in 1910, long before women had the constitutional right to vote. In 1916 she was the first woman to have ever run for the United States Senate.

In January 1912, O'Hare was elected by referendum to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Socialist Party. In April of that year she was elected Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau over incumbent Morris Hillquit. Hillquit took the defeat bitterly and prevailed upon the NEC to withhold party funds to pay for her trip to the London meeting of the bureau in December 1913. Hillquit and his right-wing following voted to have Victory Berger (with his expenses paid) accompany her.

Debs was elated that she was to be the first American woman to hold this prestigious position and gave her money to make the trip.

In London, her record of enrolling farmers from the Great Plains states so impressed the European socialists that she was invited to return to France the following year to advise French Socialist Party leaders on how she had been able to convince American farmers and workers that they were exploited by the same class.

In April 1919, she again defeated Hillquit for the position of International Secretary by a referendum. (John Reed was elected international delegate.) In 1916 and again in 1920 she was a candidate for the party's vice-presidential nomination.

Popularity second to Debs'

During the summer months O'Hare toured the southwestern states speaking at Socialist encampments that attracted crowds averaging 5,000 people, who came from as far away as 70 miles, often by covered wagon, for the week-long meetings. The program at these encampments included the singing of socialist songs, classes in history and economics, and many speeches. The classes, no matter what their label, always concerned socialism. After the speeches, talk would go on far into the night around campfires.

She was at her finest at these encampments; her popularity was second only to Debs'. She knew farm problems firsthand, and she could speak the language of the debt-ridden dirt farmers that came to listen to her. One of her comrades, Oscar Ameringer, writing of the encampments, said, "To these people, radicalism was not an intellectual plaything. Pressure was upon them. Many of their homesteads were already under mortgage. Some had already been lost by foreclosure. They were looking for delivery from the eviction monster whose lair they saw in Wall Street. They took their socialism like a new religion."

Of the many economic, political, and social issues O'Hare dealt with during her long writing and speaking career, the problems of women received most of her attention. Her entire adult life was devoted to improving the lot of women. She railed continuously against the capitalist system as being responsible for the exploitation of women, unhealthy and unsanitary working conditions, inadequate wages, the degradation of women prisoners, women's inequality before the law, and denying women the right to choose abortion and otherwise control their own lives.

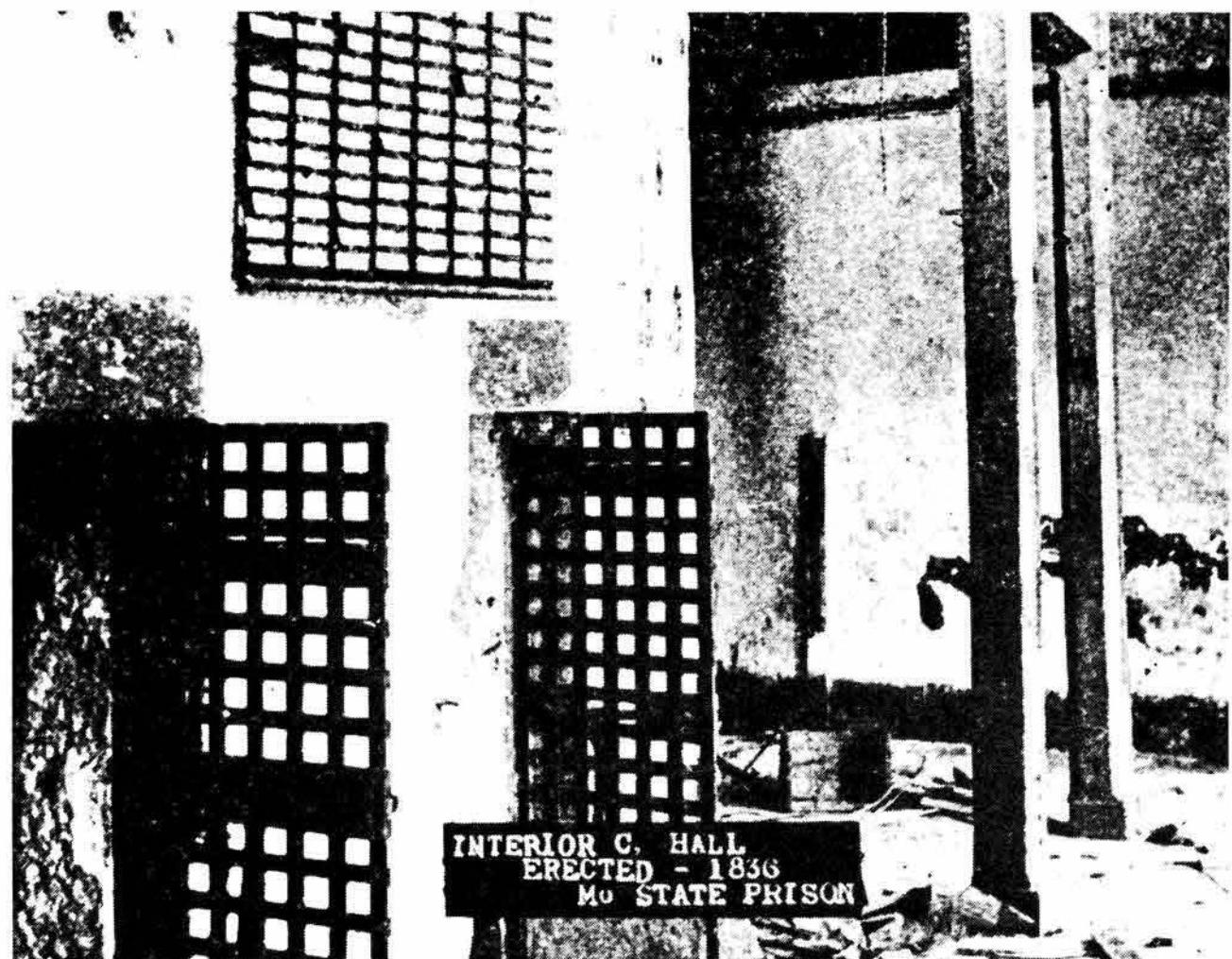
Fighter for women's suffrage

She was a militant supporter of woman's suffrage. She worked with the National American Women's Suffrage Association and participated in numerous suffrage rallies and campaigns. She served on the Women's National Committee of the Socialist Party and in 1913 led 500 women marchers as the grand marshal of the socialist section of the massive suffrage parade in Washington, D.C. She never viewed the ballot as an end in itself. She insisted that women had to have the ballot as a weapon in the class struggle to wipe out the curse of the wage system.

Although her close contact with Black women in prison led her to see them as victimized by society because they were workers, women, and Black, her position on economic, political, and social equality for Blacks generally followed the position of her Second International and Socialist Party colleagues, most of whom did not acknowledge the special problems facing Blacks as an oppressed nationality in addition to the exploitation they experienced as workers.

Against imperialist war

O'Hare was an outspoken opponent of U.S. participation in World War I. She chaired an important 15-person committee that drafted the party's position on the war at the emergency convention of the Socialist Party that met in April 1917. She defeated Hillquit for the position of chairman by almost two to one. (For Hillquit any defeat was a bitter experience, but to be defeated twice in two years by a woman was more than Hillquit and his right-wing clique could stand. They retaliated by failing to come to her defense when she was arrested later that summer under the Espionage Act.)



A newspaper in 1919 published this photo with following caption: "Down at the Jefferson City, Missouri, prison they say the 'whipping post' is a thing of the past. There are those, however, who shake their heads. Here is a picture of whipping posts at the prison where Kate O'Hare is serving her five-year sentence." O'Hare had been indicted and convicted in 1917 under Espionage Act for opposing U.S. government in World War I.

After five days of protracted and spirited sessions, the committee produced a statement, under O'Hare's capable leadership, that reflected her ferocious opposition to war. The introductory paragraphs of the statement, known as the "St. Louis Proclamation," are just as applicable to the world today as when O'Hare and her committee wrote them almost 70 years ago:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in the present grave crisis solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working-class solidarity the world over and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

"Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of 'defense,' they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death, and demoralization to the workers.

"They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred, and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty, and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations, and to curtail their civil and political rights and liberties.

"The Socialist Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism, we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all...."

With her own beliefs bolstered by an official position of the Socialist Party, O'Hare continued her relentless opposition to the war by traveling throughout the United States presenting her antiwar lecture, "Socialism and the War." Wherever she went, the crowds grew larger and larger — in Globe, Arizona, she spoke to 10,000 people.

Arrested for espionage

After delivering the same speech for the 76th time, in Bowman, North Dakota, on July 17, 1917, she was arrested and indicted by the federal government under the 1917 Espionage Act. She was found guilty in a kangaroo-court trial in Bismarck, North Dakota, in December 1917

for interfering with the war effort and obstructing the draft. She was sentenced to a five-year prison term in the Missouri State Penitentiary beginning on April 15, 1919.

A number of letters from the judge sitting on the case to the Department of Justice document the collusion between the judge, the prosecutor, and the Department of Justice. In one such document the judge acknowledged that he was aware at the time of the trial that the indictment itself was defective. In another document the Justice Department informed the judge during the trial that while "we have been unable to secure anything specific on her that would be a violation of federal law — nothing would please this office better than to hear that she got life." In another letter the judge referred to her as "one of the most dangerous characters in the United States." She "has no equal in the matter of poisoning the minds of the struggling masses unless it be Debs," he said.

In May 1920 her sentence was commuted. This was in response to an effective nationwide campaign organized and conducted by her husband, Frank, and Roger Baldwin of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, forerunner of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Her rights to full citizenship were later restored by President Calvin Coolidge.

After prison

On her release from prison, O'Hare resumed party work, writing a column in *The New Day* and setting out on a hectic national lecture tour. It was just like the old days, when she would be on tour for months at a time speaking in city after city all over the United States. In the first year following her release from prison, she gave lectures in 120 cities, covering practically all of the United States east of the Rockies, and wrote and published two books, *In Prison and America's Prison Hells*, as well as numerous newspaper and magazine articles.

But, according to her son, Victor O'Hare, her years in prison convinced her of the need for a massive crusade to expose the evils of the prison system, and it wasn't long before almost all of her time was devoted to working for prison reform.

In 1922 O'Hare, along with her husband, organized the Children's Crusade, a march on Washington by the wives and children of imprisoned opponents of the war to demand amnesty.

Later that year she moved with her family to Leesville, Louisiana, where they joined the Llano Co-operative Colony. While at the colony, she assisted in the founding of Commonwealth College, a socialist-oriented school for workers' education. She moved with the college to Mena, Arkansas, in 1925, where she served as dean of women and was active in organizing teachers.

After moving to California in 1928, she was active in Upton Sinclair's "End Poverty in California" movement. In 1937-38 she lived in Washington, D.C., where she served on the staff of Congressman Thomas Amlie of Wisconsin.

She continued to write and speak on the need for prison reform. **Continued on ISR/4**

U.S. government's ongoing war against Navajo, Hopi peoples

The *International Socialist Review* received the following article from Eric Holle. He is an associate of the Rocky Mountain Peace Center in Boulder, Colorado.

BY ERIC HOLLE

In modern industrial America, the natural world is something apart from our everyday existence, an isolated pocket, museum-like, that one visits all too rarely. Returning home after the annual 10-day "wilderness experience," many of us no doubt wish we could live in a way that would integrate our daily lives more into the natural world. We live, essentially, apart from the earth.

Most of the indigenous peoples of the world, before their cultures were so heavily impacted by contact with European "civilization," lived in tune with the earth. The concepts of parks or wilderness areas were foreign and unnecessary because they lived in harmony with their environment, and wild nature was a part of their daily existence. Native people no more needed national parks than eagles need air traffic control.

In parts of the Navajo and Hopi reservations in northern Arizona, native people still live in the old ways, where rocks, trees, springs, and animals are sacred, and the ties to the land are so strong that to leave the land is to vanish altogether. Medicine women like 82-year-old Irene Yazzie pray and offer yellow and white corn pollen for all living things, including vegetation, humans, four-legged (animals), birds, and insects.

Pressure from the U.S. government and the Mormon church has caused the loss of much traditional homeland, creating poverty, overcrowding, overgrazing, and other hardships. But the people remain tied to the land, still speaking their native tongues, and refusing to yield to harassment by the U.S. government. The traditional Dine (Navajo) and Hopi have never signed treaties with the United States. Their culture could teach us a great deal about living lightly on the earth and defending the earth against those who would exploit it.

Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act

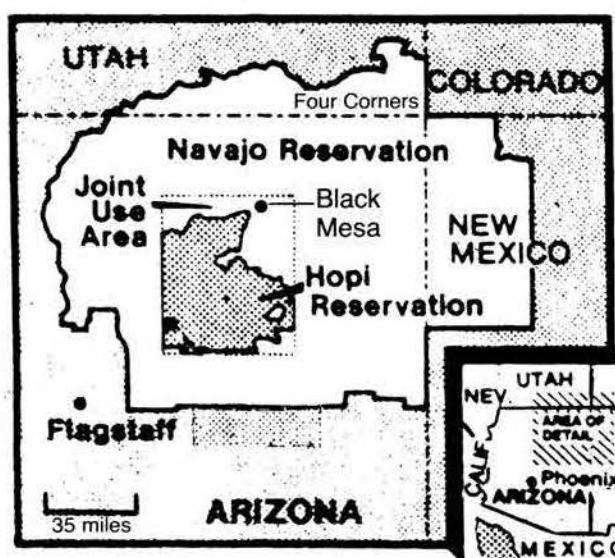
Public Law 93-531 tells these people they have to leave. Also called the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, it was passed in 1974 and promoted by Sen. Barry Goldwater and Rep. Morris Udall, both of Arizona. On the surface, the law deals with a supposed "land dispute" between the Navajo and Hopi people and pretends to form a just settlement. In reality, it is simply an attempt to force the people to leave the land and open it up to massive and destructive mineral exploitation. It will, if carried out, be one of the largest forced relocations in history, removing some 13,000 people from their ancestral homeland.

To begin to understand the situation, we must study the history of land-grabbing in the Four Corners area of Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico and the imposition of tribal councils on the people. Political boundaries and private land ownership have always been foreign concepts to the Navajo and Hopi tribes. The Hopi maintained permanent villages on the mesas, with small farms nearby, and the Navajo were pastoral, traveling with their flocks between summer and winter homes. Any conflicts that may have existed between them were settled peacefully. Trading and intermarriage were common.

In 1892, the U.S. government drew a rectangle on a map one degree long and one degree wide, and called it the Hopi reservation. The reservation boundaries did not consider traditional land use or topography, and excluded the original Hopi homeland and the farming village of Moencopi. Evidence exists that the Hopi reservation was created in part to allow legal action against white people who were helping the Hopi resist kidnapping of their children by Mormons and the U.S. government. Children were being taken for "Americanization" at boarding schools. In any case, the reservation was clearly established to give the U.S. legal power over the Hopi and their land.

As federal troops arrived and traditional leaders were arrested, a split occurred among the Hopi. A few wanted an agreement with the whites, while most made no concessions. Originally called "friendlies" and "hostiles," the two groups today are called "progressives" and "traditionalists." The wealthiest and most powerful Hopi family today are descendants of Emory Sekaquaptewa, who was kidnapped as a child and "Mormonized."

In the 1930s President Franklin Roosevelt appointed as commissioner of Indian affairs an anthropologist, John Collier, Sr. He in turn chose Oliver La Farge, a novelist, to persuade the Hopi to adopt a constitution and



Four Corners area of Southwest showing Navajo, Hopi reservations. Forced division by U.S. government of Joint Use Area and resulting relocations of Indians is scheme to further open up tribal lands to corporate plunder of natural resources.

establish a tribal council. Although voting was alien to the Hopi — their Kikmogwi (spiritual leaders) used a type of consensus decision making — and they showed little interest in forming a council, a bogus vote was held and the constitution and tribal council were established. This imposed form of government completely ignored the role of spiritual guidance in Hopi culture, and was boycotted by more than 80 percent of the people. Never recognized by the traditionalists, the council was largely dormant until 1948 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) attempted to revive it to sign oil and gas leases.

At that time, Hopi religious leaders wrote to President Harry Truman proclaiming their sovereignty and refusing to lease their sacred soil. Protests have continued until this day, and are certain to continue in the future.

In 1970 the Hopis wrote to President Richard Nixon: "The white man, through his insensitivity to the way of Nature, has desecrated the face of the Mother Earth. The white man's advanced technological capacity has occurred as a result of his lack of regard for the spiritual path and for the way of all living things. The white man's desire for material possessions and power has blinded him to the pain he has caused Mother Earth by his quest for what he calls natural resources.... The path of the Great Spirit has become difficult to see by almost all people, even by many Indians who have chosen instead to follow the path of the white man." In spite of such protests, the BIA reorganized the tribal council with pro-development "progressives," who signed mineral leases with Peabody Coal Co.

Puppet role of tribal councils

The history of the Navajo tribal council is similar. In 1921 Standard Oil discovered oil on Navajo land and proposed a lease deal. Seventy-five Navajo elders unanimously rejected the deal, so the BIA created a "tribal council." When three men were persuaded to sign a lease they were made the tribal council.

The tribal councils of the Navajo and Hopi have continued to this day as puppet organizations maintained and funded by the BIA for the principal purpose of signing mineral leases with energy companies. The councils do not have the support of the majority of the people, but the U.S. government has shown no interest in listening to the traditional leaders.

The reservation system imposed on the Navajo and

Hopi people included a large shared section of land known as the Joint Use Area (JUA). It was in the JUA, on Black Mesa, in 1950 that Peabody Coal discovered the richest coal field in Arizona.

At that time, John Boyden, former archbishop in the Mormon church and a lawyer from the U.S. Attorney's office in Utah, appeared on the scene. Although five of the ten Hopi villages refused to hire him, the BIA made him the attorney for the Hopi nation in 1952. Boyden worked diligently for years, convincing the tribal council to sign leases with energy companies. When Peabody signed a lease with the Navajo in 1964 to mine coal on Black Mesa, they needed a lease from the Hopi as well, and Boyden successfully railroaded one through. While representing the Hopi tribal council, he also did legal work for Peabody.

Role of Mormon church

As a subsidiary of Kennecott Copper Co., Peabody was controlled by the Mormon church. Influential members of the church played key roles in the leasing game — Stewart Udall, as secretary of the interior, signed the Peabody leases, and Morris Udall, Stewart's brother, introduced a bill to exempt Indian lands from environmental protection laws.

Black Mesa is a sacred area to the traditional Dine and Hopi; the Hopi use it as a burial ground, and believe that its destruction will set the stage for the destruction of the earth. The Dine call Black Mesa the Female Mountain, a symbol of the balance of nature which it is their duty to protect. But Black Mesa has been desecrated almost beyond belief; the juniper and piñon covered sandstone has been drilled, blasted, and bulldozed into a huge scar. Sixty-five thousand acres are mined. Much of the coal is sent by rail to the Navajo Generating Plant in Page, Arizona, and the rest is sent in a slurry pipeline to the Mohave Plant in Bullhead City, Arizona. The extensive water required for the slurry pipeline (3 million gallons per day) has caused Hopi and Navajo wells to go dry, and the situation is worsening as the water table drops.

Use of Black Mesa coal in Southwest power plants has reduced atmospheric visibility to about one-half of what it was 15 years ago. Three hundred and fifty tons of sulfur compounds and 210 tons of nitrogen compounds are released each day by the Four Corners power plant alone, causing a tremendous increase in acid rain and acidification of ground and surface water. The environmental effects on global ecology of such activity are largely unknown. Reclamation of such arid lands is virtually impossible, leading the National Academy of Science to propose declaring the Joint Use Area and the other Four Corners lands a "National Sacrifice Area."

The wealth from mineral exploitation goes into the pockets of people like John Boyden, who received a million dollars from the Hopi tribal council alone. The tribes are paid only a few cents per ton for their coal, and many traditional people living near the mines suffer the environmental consequences but don't have electricity themselves. The electricity is consumed by the sprawling neon cities of southern Arizona and southern California.

Peabody Coal was the only energy company able to get mineral leases in the Joint Use Area; neither tribal council alone was legally allowed to lease it. This created years of legal hassles for the BIA and energy companies. John Boyden began in the 1950s to find a way to get around this obstacle, and essentially created the Navajo-Hopi "land dispute."

Boyden also filed a land claim, supposedly on behalf of the Hopi, which resulted in a loss of millions of acres for very little money. Both the traditional and progressives have, to this day, refused to touch this money, saying that their homeland can never be sold.

Congress mandates 90% livestock reduction

The year 1974 found Boyden in Washington, D.C., lobbying for a bill to divide the Joint Use Area and get on with mineral leasing. At the same time, Evans and Associates, a Salt Lake City public relations firm, fabricated a range war on the reservation and wrote speeches for Hopi tribal councilmen about the "land dispute." Evans and Associates also represented WEST, a consortium of 23 utility companies with interests in Southwest power plants.

All the sleazy activities of Boyden and his accomplices paid off: Congress passed PL 93-531, which split the Joint Use Area 50-50 and ordered a barbed wire fence constructed to separate the Navajo and Hopi. It also mandated a 90 percent reduction in livestock, which for many

Continued on next page

U.S. gov't ongoing war against Navajo, Hopi peoples

Continued from previous page

was their only livelihood. This stock reduction was supposedly to protect Hopi lands from overgrazing, but where else in the West has the U.S. government shown any concern for overgrazing?

The law also placed a freeze on construction or building improvements on property within the JUA. Residents can actually be arrested for simply patching a hole in their roof. The traditional people have no legal recourse, because all lawsuits have to go through the tribal councils. Morris Udall has recently admitted that the stock reduction and construction freeze were instituted to "persuade" the Navajo to leave their land.

As fencing proceeded, about 100 Hopis and 10,000 Navajos were told by the Relocation Commission established by the act that they had to move. The traditional Navajo refused, saying that the land was their sacred homeland. In Navajo language, the closest word for relocation means to vanish altogether.

In 1979 they sent a letter to the U.S. government saying: "The Dine Nation of Big Mountain wishes to inform the various Federal agencies that the sacred laws of the Dine give no authority for the Federal Government and its related agencies to intrude and disrupt the sacred lands of Big Mountain. We demand that the Federal Government remove all Government equipment and personnel for the area of Big Mountain by Nov. 6, 1979. Any equipment left or that is in the Big Mountain area is subject to confiscation by the Independent Dine Nation. . . ."

The Navajos also stated, "We further declare our right to live in peace and harmony with our Moqui (Hopi) neighbors, and cooperation between us will remain unchanged."

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' attempts to enforce livestock reduction have met massive resistance, as have its attempts to complete the last five miles of fence. Even 80- and 90-year-old men and women have been arrested while defending their homeland.

Aim is to force Navajo off land

The Relocation Commission's job is to force or coerce the Dine to leave their lands. The few who have done so have found life exceedingly difficult in racist border towns. Many are swindled out of the housing promised to them and are prohibited from returning to their homelands. High rates of alcoholism and suicide are the result. The Relocation Commission is currently the object of congressional investigation regarding their fraudulent dealings with relocatees. More than one commissioner has resigned in disgust at the unworkability of the act and its severe impacts on the people.

PL 93-531 requires all those who refuse to move to be forcibly removed by July 1986. This will prove to be a difficult task for the U.S. government. In the words of 62-year-old Ruth Benally, "We won't stop [resisting]. I've lived here all my life. Big Mountain is sacred to us. It is where we collect our herbs and medicines. When the time comes, if we don't have any other choice, we are going to use our fists. No matter how small I am, I'll fight all the way to the end." Pauline Whitesinger says, "I will never leave this land. If they come to move me, they can shoot me right here."

A military solution to the government's problems enforcing relocation is a very real possibility, recalling the events at Wounded Knee in 1973. President Reagan's personal emissaries to solve the "dispute," Secretary of Interior William Clark and Richard Morris, have stated that those refusing to leave would "be declared as trespassers. . . . The eviction could be enforced by U.S. Marshals and the U.S. military."

Many of the misconceptions regarding the situation on the reservations are the result of the media's and the government's failure to recognize traditional tribal leaders. Instead, they prefer to deal with people like Peter MacDonald or Abbott Sekaquaptewa, who were tribal chairmen for the Navajo and Hopi until 1982.

MacDonald, head of the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), is one of the wealthiest Indians in the United States. He is proud of the fact that the Navajo tribal council, under his leadership, opened up much reservation land to massive oil, coal, gas, and uranium exploitation. The Mormon Sekaquaptewa family is among the most affluent of the Hopis, with the largest cattle herd of all, and is committed to using Joint Use Area lands for ranching and mining. (Mineral leasing provides all the funding for the Hopi tribal council.)

Just a few of the corporate connections between the Reagan administration and Peabody Coal make clear the government's interest in removing the people and pillaging the land. An antitrust ruling against Kennecott Copper in the 1970s left Peabody in the control of six multinational corporations: Newmont Mining Corp., Williams Co., Bechtel Corp., Boeing, Fluor, and Equitable Life Assurance Society. Bechtel, to choose one example, has built the Southwest power plants that use Peabody coal. Affiliated with Bechtel are Secretary of State George



Militant

Peabody Coal's Black Mesa strip mine in Joint Use Area. Indian tribes are paid but a few cents per ton for coal mined here. Huge profits are raked in by energy companies, which have ruined the landscape and spread massive power plant pollution throughout region. National Academy of Sciences has its solution: declare it all a "National Sacrifice Area."

Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, two former CIA directors, W. Kenneth Davis (a former Bechtel vice-president appointed by Reagan to the number two slot in the Department of Energy), and a number of men who served in the Reagan campaign organization.

Big Mountain is center of resistance

Big Mountain, near the center of the Joint Use Area, is where much of the resistance to relocation is concentrated. In April 1984 at the 10th annual survival gathering at Big Mountain, I heard Navajo elders and Hopi spiritual leaders discuss the relocation and reaffirm their commitment to stay on the land and act as its guardians. For three days they talked about their respect for the land, the plants and animals, sacred springs, and religious sites and about the hardships placed on them by the attempts at relocation. They made it clear that the land is central to their spiritual, cultural, and physical needs and that they would never leave. There is no conflict between the people. They do not want the coal or uranium to be taken out of Mother Earth — "it is part of her flesh." Although Thomas Banyacya, translator for the Hopi spiritual lead-

ers, has carried this message to the United Nations and to Washington more than once, his message seems to go unheeded.

Multinational energy corporations have a history of beginning their exploitative and destructive developments around the world by first "pacifying" or sometimes blatantly exterminating the native inhabitants. Today, the U.S. government and these corporations are waging war against the earth and its people in the Four Corners area. As the Fourth Russell Tribunal, on Rights of Indians in the Americas, determined in the Netherlands in 1980, PL 93-531 is an act of genocide. If it is carried out, and the traditional people removed from their land, the way will be clear for energy corporations to lay waste to more of the earth, and create another "national sacrifice area."

The war against the Navajo and Hopi must be stopped; the people and the area are one, and they cannot and must not be separated. The Relocation Commission should have its funding terminated, PL 93-531 should be repealed, and we must recognize and listen to the traditional leaders of Native Americans, not tribal councils composed of prodevelopment puppets.

Kate O'Hare: pioneer socialist agitator

Continued from ISR/2

reform and especially for the abolition of the contract-labor system.

In 1939 Governor Culbert Olson appointed her assistant director of the California Department of Penology, where she inaugurated many reforms of that state's prison system. She continued to agitate for prison reform until her death on Jan. 12, 1948, at 71.

Writing to her family from prison on Labor Day, May 1, 1919, she told of Emma Goldman — the anarchist leader who was imprisoned with her — giving her a piece of red ribbon to wear:

"It was a strange sight, yet typical of our capitalist system. The dirty, grimy shop . . . the weary-eyed women, in ugly, shapeless convict garb, each bending to the task, dumb, silent, and hopeless. Yet in two hearts, at least, burned the fires of revolt, and over two hearts there glowed the tiny knots of red ribbons, worldwide insignia of human brotherhood. . . . Some day I shall stand with the comrades of all nations in the New International, and I shall want to wear it in memory of this May Day. . . ."

Kate Richards O'Hare did not live to stand with her comrades of all nations and wear the red ribbon that she cherished for the rest of her life. But her pioneering work in advancing the class struggle lives on as an important link in our revolutionary heritage. Her fighting spirit is an inspiration to revolutionary workers the world over.

I have drawn upon the following materials in preparing this article: Neil K. Basen, "Kate Richards O'Hare: The 'First Lady' of Socialism," 1901-1917, *Labor History* 21 (Spring 1980); David A. Shannon, "Kate Richards O'Hare-Cunningham," *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (3 Vols., Cambridge, 1971); Melvin Dubovsky, "Kate Richards O'Hare Cunningham," *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement, 1946-1950* (NY, 1974); Kate Richards O'Hare, *Letters from Kate Richards O'Hare to Her Family* (Girard, Kansas: Frank P. O'Hare, 1921), on file at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; Kate Richards O'Hare, *Kuzbasing in Dixie* (Newellano, Louisiana: The Llano Publications, 1926); Castleton Papers, Eugene V. Debs Collection, Box 3, Tamiment Library; *The Conviction of Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare and North Dakota Politics* (NX: National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918); Department of Justice Records, National Archives; Kate Richards O'Hare, *Crime and Criminals* (Girard, Kansas: Frank P. O'Hare); interviews with Victor E. O'Hare, Jan. 23, 1984, and Sept. 8, 1985; Frank P. O'Hare Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri. I wish to thank Victor E. O'Hare, the last surviving child of Kate Richards O'Hare, for graciously giving permission to quote from his mother's letters from prison.

Economic crisis in Philippines: 'Made in USA'

Imperialist bankers play key role

BY WILL REISSNER

Mass demonstrations in the Philippines regularly express their anger at the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

At the same time, daily lines form at the U.S. embassy as Filipinos seek to emigrate to the United States. There is a backlog of more than 440,000 Filipinos who have applied to join over one-half million of their compatriots already living in the United States.

Both the protests and the emigration reflect Washington's tremendous continuing weight in the former U.S. colony.

For 300 years, the Philippines had been a colony of Spain. As the 19th century drew to a close, revolts against Spanish colonialism were under way in Cuba and the Philippines. Filipino nationalists had launched an armed struggle against Spanish rule in 1896.

But before the Cuban and Filipino patriots could win their independence, the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898. By the end of that year, Spain was defeated.

A treaty between Spain and the United States gave Washington control over Spain's remaining colonial possessions. Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines became outright U.S. colonies. Cuba gained formal independence, although the U.S. Congress had veto power over all actions of the new Cuban government.

The Filipino insurgents battling Spanish rule initially welcomed U.S. intervention in the fighting. They expected that a U.S. victory over Spain would result in independence for the Philippines.

When it became clear that they had exchanged one colonial master for another, many Filipinos continued fighting.

It took Washington two years of bitter counterinsurgency warfare before resistance to U.S. rule in the Philippines was crushed with the capture of insurgent leader Emilio Aguinaldo in 1901.

Direct U.S. colonial rule had a drastic impact on the Philippine economy. The establishment of free trade between the new colony and the United States in 1909 reinforced a pattern wherein the Philippines grew sugar, tobacco, copra, and other agricultural products for the U.S. market, while the free entry of U.S. manufactured goods into the Philippines prevented the development of domestic industry.

Access to the U.S. market for agricultural products spurred the development of large-scale plantation agriculture. The percentage of farmers working as tenant sharecroppers doubled between 1900 and 1935, as the plantation owners increased their holdings.

Many of the present ruling families of the Philippines — the Kalaws, Laurels, and Aquinos, for example — had been leading planter families during Spanish rule who went over to serving the new colonial power, vastly enriching themselves in the process.

U.S. agribusinesses

U.S. corporations were quick to follow the flag to the Philippines, and continued to maintain vast holdings in agriculture and mining after the Philippines gained formal independence in 1946.

In the rubber industry, for example, three U.S. giants dominate 97 percent of Philippine rubber production. B.F. Goodrich established its first plantations on the island of Basilan in 1919. Goodyear came in 1929, and Firestone followed in 1957.

U.S. corporations also account for 99.8 percent of Philippine pineapple sales. Del Monte began pineapple production on the island of Mindanao in 1926, while its archrival, Dole, arrived only in 1963. Between them they now grow pineapples on more than 40,000 acres on Mindanao.

The banana industry is also totally controlled by foreign corporations: Del Monte, Dole, and United Fruit from the United

States, and Sumitomo from Japan.

These four banana growers raise their crop, all of which is exported to Japan, on 66,000 acres of Mindanao.

Del Monte and Dole also have vast holdings in tomatoes, coffee, livestock feed, cattle-raising, deep-sea fishing, rice, glass manufacturing, land development, and banking.

The two largest export crops, sugar and coconuts, are dominated by Filipino capitalists and form the basis for much of the wealth of the Filipino ruling class.

Sugar production is concentrated in large plantations and employs 500,000 field workers, who are kept in line by planter-controlled private armies.

Although sugar is grown on more than 33,000 farms, just 600 of them control 26.2 percent of the sugar land. Since 1977 sugar marketing has been monopolized by Roberto Benedicto, a crony of dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Benedicto has used his position to amass a vast fortune.

Coconut production primarily takes place on small farms, often cultivated by tenant farmers who must turn over as much as two-thirds of their crop to the landowner.

In the coconut industry, as in the sugar industry, marketing of the crop is monopolized by a Marcos crony, Eduardo Cojuangco, whose family began building its fortune with vast rice lands. Cojuangco, whose cousin Corazon married Marcos opponent Benigno Aquino, also heads the San Miguel Corp., the largest company in the Philippines.

The present neocolonial structure of the Philippine economy reflects a conscious policy of the U.S. government both before and after Philippine independence.

In particular, the present economic structure reflects decisions made in the immediate postwar period, when the Philippines had just received its independence.

Postwar 'reconstruction'

World War II temporarily broke the close economic ties between the Philippines and the United States.

The Japanese military attacked the Philippines one day after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Japanese rule over the islands would last until October 1944.

The years of Japanese occupation broke the trade links that had tied the Philippines and the United States since free trade was established in 1909.

When trade with the United States became impossible during the war, much of the existing economic structure fell into decay. In particular the sugar plantations, totally dependent on the U.S. market, had fallen into ruins during the war years.

In addition, the Philippines suffered tremendous physical damage in the course of the U.S. reconquest of the islands from the Japanese.

Rehabilitation of the economy was a pressing task in the immediate postwar years. But the large inflow of U.S. dollars in the immediate postwar period — from spending by U.S. troops, U.S. government payments of salaries to local personnel, veterans' benefits for Philippine soldiers, and war damage payments — was squandered on imports of consumer goods. The prewar patterns of the Philippine economy were reestablished.

This neocolonial "reconstruction" had two causes: the corruption and venality of the Filipino ruling class, particularly the planters, whose wealth and power was based on the U.S. connection, and Washington's determination to reimpose a neocolonial economic structure on the Philippines.

U.S. economic control

The vehicle for U.S. control over the newly independent island nation was the 1946 Philippine Trade Act, usually known



Manila slum. Filipino workers and farmers are carrying the burden of imperialist-imposed economic crisis.

as the Bell Trade Act, which was drafted in the U.S. Congress.

The Bell Trade Act, which was passed in the months before the United States gave the Philippines independence, was designed to protect the interests of U.S. investors.

It was eventually also passed by the Philippine congress, after heavy-handed pressure from Washington. The U.S. government insisted that the Bell Trade Act be adopted "as is" by Manila, and Washington made release of reconstruction funds from the U.S. Rehabilitation Act contingent on Philippine approval of the measure.

Under the terms of the Bell Trade Act, free trade between the Philippines and the United States was extended for eight years after independence, followed by 20 years of gradually increasing tariffs.

The act also gave the U.S. government power over the value of the currency of the nominally independent country and enforced the right of U.S. corporations to send profits out of the Philippines. According to the act, "the value of the Philippine currency in relation to the United States dollar shall not be changed, and no restrictions shall be imposed on the transfer of funds from the Philippines to the United States, except by agreement with the President of the United States."

'Parity Amendment'

In order to receive reconstruction aid, the Philippine government was also forced to add a "Parity Amendment" to the country's constitution, giving U.S. citizens equal rights with the Philippine citizens in the economic sphere.

Under the 1947 Military Bases Agreement, Washington got a 99-year lease on a number of military facilities in the islands, with the proviso that these facilities would be administered as if they were part of the territory of the United States.

This web of continued U.S. control over vital sectors of Philippine life made many Filipinos question whether the country had actually gained its independence in 1946.

The windfall of dollars into the Philippine economy dried up in 1949, leaving the country without the foreign currency needed to continue purchasing imports.

As a result of this crisis, the Philippine government got U.S. permission to impose foreign currency controls, under which no foreign payments could be made without the prior approval of the Central Bank, and all exporters were required to turn their foreign currency earnings over to the government in exchange for Philippine pesos.

As a result of the foreign currency crisis and the inability to continue importing consumer goods, a local "import substitution" manufacturing industry developed in the 1950s.

Although much of it simply involved assembly, finishing, or packaging of imported components, as a category manufacturing increased from 8 percent of national income in 1949 to 18 percent by 1965.

This import substitution could not, however, generate a sustained industrialization of the Philippines. For sustained industrialization to take place, major structural changes would have been necessary in Filipino society.

The biggest single constraint on industrialization was the small size of the domestic market. Certainly there are enough people in the Philippines to sustain

a thriving domestic industry — the Philippines has about the same population as France.

The big brake on the size of the Philippine domestic market is the abject poverty of the masses and the concentration of wealth in a few hands. In 1970, for example, the top 5 percent of the population controlled 25 percent of the national income.

In addition, the traditional Filipino ruling class owes its wealth and power to its control over the land and to agricultural exports to the U.S. market. These oligarchs had no interest in a land reform that would boost the purchasing power of the rural masses, who still make up 70 percent of the country's population.

Nor did the oligarchs have an interest in foreign currency controls or protection of newly established local industry. The planters, after all, sold to the U.S. market and earned dollars. And they would much rather use their dollars to buy higher quality foreign goods than the protected products of local industries.

A heavy blow to the import substitution policy was dealt in 1962, when Washington forced the Philippine government to end import and foreign exchange controls. The U.S. government acted in response to complaints by U.S. investors seeking to repatriate their profits and U.S. exporters frustrated by protectionist measures.

IMF and World Bank

The vehicles chosen by Washington to apply the pressure were the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The IMF forced Manila to carry out a severe devaluation of the peso relative to the dollar.

The rationale was that this devaluation would improve Philippine foreign currency holdings by lowering the price of Philippine exports and discouraging imports, which now became much more expensive in peso terms.

Big agricultural interests, such as the sugar planters, reaped a bonanza from the devaluation. Their sales to the U.S. market continued as before. But their dollar earnings could now be exchanged for many more pesos than previously.

The impact of the devaluation was severe on Filipino workers, who saw their real incomes drop 10 percent between 1962 and 1964, and on Filipino manufacturers, who now had to pay more in pesos for their imported raw materials and whose dollar-denominated loans now required far more pesos for repayment.

An estimated 1,500 Filipino manufacturers were forced into bankruptcy by the 1962 devaluation, while others survived only by entering joint venture agreements with foreign capitalists.

The impact of the devaluation on manufacturing can be seen by the fact that the number of manufacturing jobs in 1969 was virtually the same as it had been in 1963 — 1.3 million.

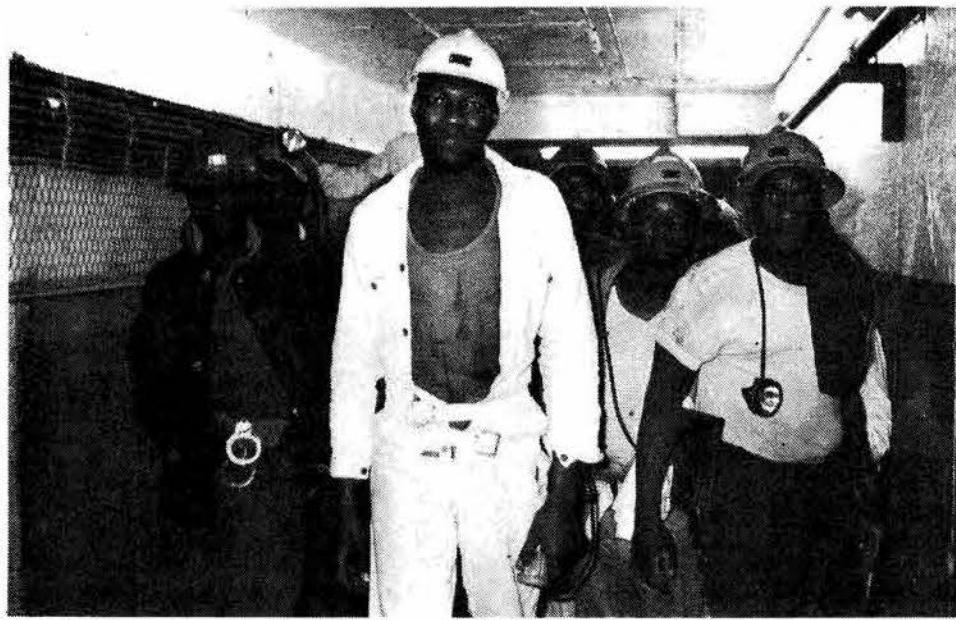
Nevertheless, the tariff protection for Filipino manufacturers that had been established in 1957 continued to provide some protection for local industry.

But the lifting of currency controls and the devaluation in 1962 were only the opening shots in the World Bank-IMF campaign to open the Philippines to greater penetration by U.S. capitalists.

When Ferdinand Marcos was elected president in 1966, he instituted programs to

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S. Africa union federation backs divestment



Members of South African National Union of Mineworkers

Continued from Page 2

for changes that would make it easier to recognize, negotiate with, and gain some control over the new unions that were developing.

Registered unions could enforce contracts, carry out legal strikes under extremely limited circumstances, institute dues checkoff, and appeal against unfair labor practices to government courts.

The law also barred unions from political activity, proposed tight government surveillance of their finances and internal structure, and barred strike pay to union members.

Growing support to the new unions prevented the government from either establishing tight control over those that registered under the new laws or suppressing those unions that refused to register.

In 1979, the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) was formed by a number of the new industrial unions. It includes unions in the textile, auto, chemical, and other industries.

Another group of unions formed the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) in September 1980. CUSA, unlike FOSATU, favored an exclusively Black leadership for the new unions.

Why nonracial?

In 1979, a split in the Black Allied Workers Union had resulted in the formation of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU). While BAWU had identified with the Black Consciousness current — including holding positions favoring

exclusively Black unions — SAAWU supported the Freedom Charter's goal of a nonracial South Africa. SAAWU became nonracial, although its membership remains overwhelmingly Black.

The issues that led to the split in BAWU continue to be debated in the South African labor movement and in the broader South African liberation struggle. The advocates of a nonracial South Africa have steadily gained ground, as can be seen in the range of unions that united in favor of nonracial unionism in COSATU. COSATU's member unions — which organize the decisive majority of unionized workers — are all nonracial. Some have whites in leading positions.

Two significant unions — the Council of Unions of South Africa and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions — have not yet joined the new federation. They have between 100,000 and 150,000 members. Both cite their opposition to COSATU's stand for nonracial unions as one of their reasons.

The Black Consciousness current played a part in forming many unions. But today its positions have become an obstacle to organizing and uniting the millions of still unorganized Black workers and uniting the South African working class and its allies along nonracial lines to challenge the employers and their apartheid state.

By 1981, the government was forced to further recognize the right to organize, while continuing to try to restrict the unions. The ban on nonracial unions, which it had been forced to ignore, was

Paperworkers reject merger with OCAW

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

ST. LOUIS — At a special convention here on December 3, delegates from United Paperworkers International Union locals voted down a proposal to merge with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW). The measure, which officials in both unions had expected to be approved, was soundly defeated in a roll-call vote with 14,803 votes cast against and 5,396 in favor. A simple majority would have established the United Paper, Energy and Chemical Workers Union.

In August, OCAW convention delegates narrowly approved the merger proposal. It passed only after a second vote was taken, failing to win the required two-thirds majority the first time.

At both conventions, opposition to the proposal focused on provisions in the proposed new constitution.

After two hours of speeches by union officials urging merger, one delegate after another took the floor to voice opposition.

Delegates angrily pointed out that a number of provisions in the proposed constitution were proposals that had been raised and voted down at the last Paperworkers convention in September 1984.

Delegates from small locals opposed the provision that would have left it up to the International Executive Board whether to provide transportation funds for delegates to special conventions. Their locals, they argued, needed these funds to send even one representative to such gatherings.

They also voiced disapproval of a pro-

posed increase in the member-to-delegates ratio. The proposed change would have decreased the number of delegates at conventions. Union officials had argued that the change was necessary because they had trouble finding large enough convention facilities.

Several delegates spoke against a provision that required dues payments from members collecting sick and accident benefits. They said they would lose members over the issue.

After more than an hour of discussion, delegates called for a vote. While the four largest locals threw their combined 1,691 votes behind the measure, the result was never in question as hundreds of delegates from locals across the country voted no.

Officials from both unions were clearly surprised by the outcome.

None of the delegates who spoke disputed the wisdom of a merger with OCAW. They agreed with the claims of union officials that a merger would result in a bigger, more powerful union, better able to defend itself against the escalating government and corporate attacks.

In fact, after the proposal was voted down, a delegate made a motion to direct Paperworkers officials to continue talks with OCAW. The motion won wide applause but was not brought to a vote because Paperworkers President Wayne Glenn said he appreciated the sentiment behind the motion, but OCAW wasn't having a convention for three years, and it was difficult to see how merger talks would proceed.

lifted. The right to join unions was extended to workers assigned to Bantustans and to workers from other countries. James Motlati, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, is a migrant worker from Lesotho.

On Aug. 8, 1981, the first talks on creating a new federation of democratic unions were held.

Doubling of membership

Since that meeting, the number of unionized workers has more than doubled.

The number of strikes has tended to increase as well, rising from 106 in 1978 to 394 in 1982. By September 1984 — when the current anti-apartheid upsurge was just beginning — there had already been more strikes than in the previous record year of 1982.

The biggest single addition to the union ranks was the formation of the National Union of Mineworkers in 1982. The NUM now reports more than 250,000 members, 100,000 of whom are paid up in dues.

The NUM recently split from the Council of Unions of South Africa, stating that CUSA was not seriously pursuing the unity negotiations.

Another issue that divided unionists was the degree to which the unions would participate in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Debate role in struggle

Some, such as the South African Allied Workers Union, were deeply involved in the political struggle against apartheid from the beginning. FOSATU's central leaders, on the other hand, tended to counterpose building strong shop-floor organizations to active union involvement in the anti-apartheid battle.

The apartheid regime aimed especially savage repression at those unionists who became involved in mass protests. Thozamile Gqwetha, president of the estimated 50,000-member SAAWU, was arrested on at least nine occasions and tortured.

When the regime dropped treason charges against 12 anti-apartheid fighters December 9, it continued to press the treason frame-up against four SAAWU leaders.

But repression has not been restricted to those unions most active in the anti-apartheid movement. The apartheid regime's troops and cops can be counted on to help the employers in any labor conflict.

United Democratic Front

The differences over political action against apartheid were indicated in the response of different union bodies to the formation of the United Democratic Front, the anti-apartheid coalition that united 600 organizations with 2 million members. Some 20 unions, including SAAWU, joined the UDF.

The CUSA voted to endorse both the UDF and the National Forum, an opponent of the UDF and the Freedom Charter.

FOSATU did not join either the UDF or the National Forum.

In reality, the struggle for union rights and the broader struggle against the apartheid system have always been intertwined. Broad community support, including boycotts, has played a part in winning many strikes.

The upsurge of the anti-apartheid struggle in 1984 and the brutal repression in the townships drew many more unions into prominent roles in the anti-apartheid struggle.

Transvaal strike

On Nov. 5 and 6, 1984, FOSATU, CUSA, and UDF affiliates organized an anti-apartheid strike of 1 million workers in Transvaal Province, which includes Johannesburg and Pretoria. This was the biggest political strike in South Africa's history. The strikers demanded an end to army and police repression in the Black townships, release of political prisoners, an end to increases in rent and bus fares, and the resignation of all members of the government-established Black community councils.

The ranks and the overwhelming majority of leaders of the new unions know that there can be no future for unionism in South Africa unless the apartheid structure — from the Bantustans, to institutionalized job discrimination, to the pass laws, to the white minority government — is dismantled.

The rise of the mass anti-apartheid struggle made possible the forging of the federation on the basis of militant struggle against apartheid.

The African National Congress, the vanguard liberation organization of the South African freedom struggle, also backed formation of COSATU.

ANC stand

In a Jan. 8, 1985, address marking the ANC's 73rd anniversary, President Oliver Tambo said: "During this anniversary year, let us consolidate the gains we have thus far registered. We need to intensify our efforts to form one united, democratic trade union federation. No democratic trade union should be excluded from such a federation."

"We must harness the collective strength of the working class, not merely to improve the immediate economic conditions of that class but to bring about democratic change in our country."

The advance of the South African nonracial unions has had an impact on the federations that collaborate with the racist rulers. Both the openly racist, whites-only South African Confederation of Labor and TUCSA, which collaborates closely with the regime and the employers, have lost members.

When TUCSA adopted a resolution in 1983 calling on the government to suppress independent unions that had refused to register with the government, the 54,000-member South African Boilermakers Society, which has both Black and white members, and the 25,000-member Motor Industry Combined Workers Union withdrew.

The Boilermakers' leaders have attended some of the discussions that led to the formation of the new federation, although they have not yet decided to join.

As a radio broadcast from the African National Congress put it December 2, the formation of COSATU "was greeted with much jubilation by the entire struggling people of our country because it lays the main foundation stone for the unity of the working class in South Africa, the main leading force of our national liberation revolution."

UAW loses vote in Arizona certification election

MESA, Ariz. — Production workers seeking to organize a local of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the McDonnell Douglas Corp. helicopter plant here lost a certification election held November 8. The vote was 293 for the union and 571 against.

The organizing drive has been a challenge to the union-busting of this giant aerospace company. Activists in the organizing committee plan to try again in the future. Officials of the UAW have filed charges of unfair election practices against McDonnell Douglas with the National Labor Relations Board.

Originally Hughes Helicopters, Inc., the company moved its Apache helicopter production from Culver City, California, to union-free Mesa, a rapidly expanding suburb of Phoenix. The California plant was organized by the Carpenters' union. Workers transferring from Culver City took a \$6-to-\$7-an-hour pay cut.

McDonnell Douglas bought the plant in 1984 and plans to make the Mesa facility the headquarters for its entire helicopter production. All the other McDonnell Douglas aerospace plants are union-organized. The company went all out to prevent its outpost in the "sun belt" from becoming union.

They hired 200 workers before the election and promoted hundreds more. They eliminated wage control points and raised wages 35 cents an hour across the board.

At the same time, McDonnell Douglas threatened that, if the workers voted union, the company would take away benefits, force us out on strike, and would fire and never rehire us.

This article was written by a member of the UAW in-plant organizing committee at the McDonnell Douglas plant in Mesa, Arizona.

Nicaragua carries out demobilization of first wave of draftees

BY BILL GRETTER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — In Spanish, *cachorro* means cub. In Nicaragua, the "cachorros of Sandino" are the nation's heroes. They are the young draftees of the Patriotic Military Service (SMP) who have been striking big blows against the U.S.-backed mercenaries, as Nicaraguan Gen. Augusto César Sandino did against the U.S. marines who occupied this country half a century ago.

On December 2 the first of the "cubs of Sandino" were demobilized from the army after defending Nicaragua's sovereignty for two years in the mountains and jungles. Thousands of people jammed the Plaza of the Revolution here to welcome them home.

Filling the plaza on all sides were the mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters waiting to greet their cubs. And in the middle, in a formation of two squads, stood 1,000 soldiers.

In one squad, carrying their knapsacks and rifles and wearing the traditional Nicaraguan mountaineer's hat that has become their trademark, were the soon-to-be-demobilized draftees.

In the other squad, in khaki uniforms and caps, still without rifles, were the new recruits who will replace them.

Lizandro Ubeda, one of the soldiers being demobilized gave the order to the new recruits: "Attention! Left face! Forward, march."

The new draftees advanced toward the ranks of the outgoing fighters, continuing to march through them until the two squads were mixed in alternate rows.

"Left face!" Ubeda shouted. As they turned, each new recruit was brought face-to-face with the soldier he would replace.

Holding out their rifles, the departing soldiers spoke: "Incoming brother soldier, I turn over to you this rifle with which I have completed my two years of Patriotic Military Service, for you to fight as Sandino and [Sandinista National Liberation Front founder] Carlos Fonseca did. It is your duty now to continue with this task."

Grasping the rifle, the new recruits answered: "I, the incoming soldier, swear by our heroes and martyrs, to the poor and working people, to carry this rifle where you did, with courage and honor as you did."

"Attention!" the commanding officer ordered again. "Forward, march!" This time it was the now-demobilized veterans who marched away to take their place on the other side of the plaza.

The crowd broke out in wild applause as the precise exercise concluded.

"One army of all the people!" they chanted, together with the soldiers of both squads.

'One more victory for revolution'

"Our enemies hoped that this day would never come," President Daniel Ortega told the crowd. "They hoped that none of the young people would return from the mountains; or that the youth in the cities would refuse to join the armies.

"They would have preferred to see the plaza empty and desolate. Instead it is filled today with the combative presence of the young men who have completed their military service."

Under Nicaragua's 1983 law on Patriotic Military Service, men between 18 and 25 years old can be drafted for active service. Women and younger men are allowed to volunteer. The law specifies a period of service of two years. Since the first SMP recruits were inducted into the army two years ago, they were now due to be demobilized.

Carrying through that demobilization on schedule, and at the same time strengthening the nation's defense with fresh recruits, is seen here as a major accomplishment, given the intensity of the war organized by Washington. In his speech to the rally, Ortega characterized it as "one more victory for the revolution, in defense of the interests of the people."

"If thousands of young people had not answered the call," he continued, "imperialism surely would have been able to make headway with its plans." In that case, Ortega pointed out, rather than fighting to push the mercenaries back at the borders, Nicaragua would now be fighting to defend the cities themselves.

Nicaragua, he said, "is fighting for peace when we take up arms, fighting for peace when we confront the mercenaries." Nicaragua is "defending self-determination and independence, freedom of expression, health and housing, land for the peasants."

"The sooner we defeat the mercenary forces," he added, "the closer we will be to peace."

"The first days were difficult," said Lizandro Ubeda, speaking for the demobilized veterans, "but we never gave up and we never surrendered. We have completed this mission. Now we are ready to meet the new challenges that the revolution presents us. Now we are ready to join the Reserve Military Service, uniting with the rest of the people to create a wall that will defeat an enemy invasion." The Reserve Military Service is a new branch of the army. All men between the ages of 25 and 40 are required to register for it.

After the military band had played the Sandinista anthem to conclude the event, the commanding officer gave one final order.

"Fall out!" he called. Chaos erupted in the center of the plaza as the crowd streamed in seeking sons, husbands, and friends.

"Imperialism never expected that we could pull this off," said demobilized sol-



Barricada
"Cubs of Sandino" who fought *contras* for two years in mountains of northern Nicaragua. Here they sign last forms before their release to return home.

dier Edgar Zamora, beaming. Perched on the knapsack on his back was a brilliant green parrot from the mountains of northern Nicaragua, where he had spent the last two years.

"What will you do now?" I asked.

"Go back to school," Zamora said. "I got out of high school before I went into the SMP. Now I am going to college to finish my studies. And, of course, continue to participate in the tasks of the revolution: picking coffee and cotton, and helping to train the military reserves."

"I feel great," said 19-year-old Henry Martínez, "although life in the mountains was pretty hard. Now I just want to get home and see my mom. It has been two years since I've seen her." Martínez lives in Muy Muy, in Matagalpa Province.

"What kind of work does your family do there?" I asked.

"I don't really have a family. I am the

head of the household, the only son. There's a draft deferment for that, so I didn't have to go. But I volunteered. Once you decide to support the revolution you can't let anything stand in your way."

In one corner of the plaza 50 young recruits were singing and chanting exuberantly. "We are not really brand new recruits," 22-year-old Franco Cardenal explained to me. "We have been up north in Jinotega for a month already. We came down for the symbolic act of receiving the rifles."

The new *cachorros* were in high spirits. They had guitars with them and were singing revolutionary songs. At one point they all started leaping into the air, chanting, "Anybody who doesn't jump up and down is a counterrevolutionary."

Then they marched off, still singing, to the army trucks that would take them back to the mountains.

Terror attack hits children during 'Purísima'

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Twelve people, mostly children, were wounded by shrapnel when a bomb exploded in a church in Rivas, December 3. Rivas is a city in southwestern Nicaragua.

The counterrevolutionary crime was the only serious incident marring Purísima, a Catholic holiday traditionally celebrated here.

Dr. Alfonso Terán Hidalgo, director of the hospital in Rivas, compared the act to atrocities carried out by the National Guard of dictator Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown in 1979.

"That was a time of barbarism," Terán Hidalgo commented. "It seems that some people now want to bring it back." The doctor put the blame on "imperialism [which] wants to intimidate the population so they won't participate in their religious holiday."

Father José Antonio Fernández noted that the bombing "happened just at a time when some sectors were trying to make people believe that Purísima would not be celebrated."

He was referring to the fact that several weeks ago, opponents of the revolution began circulating rumors that Purísima celebrations would be prohibited this year because of the state of emergency the government recently decreed.

In a press conference November 23, Commander Omar Cabezas, the Ministry of the Interior's chief of internal order, answered these rumors. "The state of emergency has absolutely nothing to do with Purísima," he said, explaining that everything that is normally part of the Purísima celebration would be allowed.

"How has Purísima always been celebrated, at least in my home town?" he asked. "The people go out in the streets. Some go in cars, some go on foot. Some go alone, some go in groups. Some carry guitars, some don't. Purísima will be exactly the same as it has always been," he said. "Exactly."

Cabezas explained that religious freedom is and will be guaranteed in Nicaragua. And he warned that the Ministry of the Interior would take action against those who spread rumors designed to create the impression that religious persecution exists in Nicaragua.

On December 8, when the main

Purísima events were over, *Barricada*, the Sandinista National Liberation Front's daily, described the holiday as a success, "despite the efforts of some sectors of the Catholic church hierarchy and some political sectors." But, the paper asked in an editorial, "why doesn't the hierarchy condemn the crime in Rivas? What can we

make of the church's official silence in response to this criminal attack. Should we call it shocking?

"Not really," *Barricada* concluded. "In four years, their silence in the face of counterrevolutionary crimes has become habitual. There is no longer anything shocking about it."

— B.G.

Nicaragua hits U.S. aggression

Continued from front page

"The imperialists should not believe that the Nicaraguan people are unprepared. Do they think we're going to turn out in the streets in disarray, trying to figure out what to do? What have these six years of struggle been for?"

"The people here know how to fight," he continued. "We have the guns, and we're organized. We have the unity, consciousness, and determination to win."

The crowd was outraged by the mercenary attack, but self-confident and disciplined.

"This is an act of repudiation," said a housewife with two sons in the army. "They'd better not mess with us . . ."

". . . or dare to come in here like they did in Grenada," said an 18-year-old man who works at the Pepsi-Cola factory.

"It's a warning to the Yankees," said an office worker wearing a militia uniform and carrying a briefcase. "We're on the alert. We're ready."

"We're moving forward with the [Sandinista] Front," said members of a group of market women in brightly colored dresses and white aprons.

"We will never go back to being slaves, like we were under the dictatorship," said 49-year-old Antonio Gutiérrez. He carried a poster he had made, showing Uncle Sam being crushed by the Nicaraguan people. "With SAM's or without SAM's we will defeat Uncle Sam," it said.

Young couples with children on their shoulders participated. And a middle-aged woman marched with her son, carrying a large red and black flag of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). She stretched it out as they passed the embassy. "This is our flag," she shouted, "and you'd

better learn to respect it!"

"Of course, the FSLN supported this demonstration," 23-year-old Alfredo Ramírez said. "It's the party that's in the lead. At times like this you never see the other parties. And the Sandinista Defense Committee in each neighborhood organized to get people here."

Despite his militia uniform, Ramírez is a truck driver, not a soldier, he said.

"No, we're all soldiers here," interrupted Socorro Zeledón. "Some of us use rifles and some don't; some are in the army and some are in the Sandinista Defense Committees — but we're all soldiers."

Washington's use of the SAM-7 missile, said Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, is as serious an action as the mining of Nicaragua's ports by the CIA nearly three years ago. Now, he said, "the United States is mining the airspace of Central America, and they are threatening to do so throughout the continent."

Ortega responded to the U.S. justification for the attack — the claim that Cubans were in the downed helicopter and that Cubans make up the backbone of the Sandinista army. "This is a common tactic of the United States," he said. "They resort to the supposed presence of thousands of Cubans to cover up their own terrorist actions and paralyze world public opinion."

Ortega stated that there are Cuban military advisers in Nicaragua, although far fewer than the U.S. government claims. The talk about Cubans, he explained, is to justify sending more aid to the counterrevolutionaries, or to try to create the conditions for a direct intervention by U.S. troops, because "it's well-known that the mercenaries can never defeat the Nicaraguan people."

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Good as the prez said he was
— Soon after the Grenada invasion, William Ingle drew warm praise from Reagan as a classic free enterpriser. He had borrowed



Harry Ring

\$525,000 in IOUs.

Seems qualified — Biographer Edmund Morris, who will pocket \$3 million for writing the life of Reagan, includes among his previous credits science fiction, radio scripts, and advertising copy.

Was he there? — "Six workers who thought they were participating in a radiation-free drill at an Alabama nuclear plant . . . were contaminated by a radioactive liquid that had been used to increase the realism of the exercise. 'We try to make it as realistic as we can,' said the director of the Alabama Bureau of Radiological Health." — News item.

He was just being tolerant — White House chief of staff, Donald Regan, was "horrified" that anyone was offended by his comment that most women didn't understand arms control or other summit issues. It was not, he assured, "intended as a putdown."

Sounds reasonable — "My newspaper decided to back me because I own it." — Guatemalan presidential candidate Jorge Carpio explaining why *El Gráfico* was devoting page after page to articles extolling his campaign.

Could it be Casey? — CIA director William Casey met with Sen. Jesse Helms to try to reassure the North Carolina Republican

that the CIA was not guilty of a pro-Soviet bias. Meanwhile, Sen. Malcolm Wallop, a Wyoming Republican, insists the Soviet Union has succeeded in planting a ranking double agent in the cloak-and-dagger outfit.

Of juice and justice — Steven Zantop of Juci-Rich Products, was indicted for selling Dallas-area schools thousands of gallons of adulterated orange juice and lemonade. If convicted, he faces a year in the country jail, max. Which would be okay if they served him some of the o.j. every morning.

Irate voters? — Rep. Jerry Huckaby's campaign fund spent

\$2,150 to buy the incumbent Louisiana Dem a shotgun. First we thought it was to deal with his opponent, but he ran unopposed.

Sounds like capitalism — Workers lose 500 million days a year because of pain. Way on top of the list are headaches and backaches.

All for the best — "It looks like another merry year for toys. . . . Two-income families, which spend more on their children, are on the rise. And the population's increased lifespan means more grandparents on the prowl for gifts. Then there are the high number of divorces, with the resulting step-parents and step-grandparents — more potential toy buyers." — News item.

\$350,000 from the government to set up a toy factory in Grenada. Now he's pleaded guilty to fraud. It seems the factory operated just long enough to leave the feds with

Economic crisis in Philippines — 'Made in USA'

Continued from Page 13

encourage foreign capitalists to set up industries in the Philippines, using cheap Filipino labor to assemble goods for export.

In 1969 Marcos ran for a second term as president. His victory, following the most corrupt and violent election in Philippine history, set the stage for more direct intervention by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund into the Philippine economy.

In his successful attempt to buy the 1969 election, Marcos had exhausted the Philippines' foreign currency reserves, and he had to turn to the IMF and World Bank for new funds.

These imperialist institutions agreed to lend Marcos money, but only on the condition that he carry out another drastic devaluation of the peso.

As with the 1962 devaluation, the 1970 devaluation cut the living standard of workers, drove many local industries into bankruptcy, and provided a bonanza for the sugar planters.

The 1970 World Bank-IMF bailout of Marcos opened the door for more direct imperialist control of his economic policies.

The centerpiece of the World Bank-IMF policy was to destroy the remaining vestiges of protectionism for Philippine industry, a policy described as economic "liberalization," and open the country's doors wide to foreign capital and export-oriented industries.

Martial law

Crucial to this strategy, which required the existence of a low-paid, docile labor force, was the establishment of martial law by Marcos on Sept. 22, 1972.

U.S. business interests in the Philippines were quick to hail Marcos' decree suspending democratic rights.

With the imposition of martial law, a flood of World Bank-IMF loans entered the country. Between 1950 and 1972, the Philippines had received a total of \$326 million in loans from the World Bank. But between 1973 and 1981, more than \$2.6 billion in World Bank loans poured in.

In the period following the imposition of martial law, the World Bank assumed effective control over Philippine economic policy.

While the World Bank was happy with Marcos' new concessions to foreign capitalists in the export-oriented field and with the suppression of wages as a result of the martial-law repression against the trade union movement, the imperialist agency continued to press Marcos to further dismantle tariffs protecting local industry.

In 1979 the World Bank and IMF made a veiled threat to reconsider their financial support to the Marcos regime unless new steps were taken to eliminate protection of the Philippine domestic market.

The Marcos regime promised to cut the number of protected industries by two-thirds and significantly lower tariffs on the remainder.

With the World Bank-IMF strategy firmly in the saddle, it is worth asking how well this model works and whether it is relevant for the rest of the semicolonial world.

At the end of President Marcos' first term in office, just as the World Bank and IMF were consolidating their hold on Philippine economic policy, the country's foreign debt stood at about \$1.9 billion.

A decade and a half later, the country's foreign debt is estimated to be between \$24 and \$26 billion, and repayment of principal on the foreign debt has been suspended since October 1983.

Sharply depressed prices for coconut products and sugar have caused foreign currency earnings to plunge and have led to widespread misery in the countryside. Some 37 percent of the Filipino labor force is dependent on those two crops for their livelihood.

Unemployment has doubled in the past year, and industrial production has declined.

Over the past two years, the gross national product of the Philippines has shrunk by 10 percent. World Bank analysts predict that individual consumption cannot return to 1982 levels before the 1990s.

While the workers and peasants in the Philippines are experiencing real suffering in the current economic crisis, Marcos and his cronies have feathered their nests and are well taken care of. Raul S. Manglapus, who was foreign minister of the Philippines in 1957, recently noted that Marcos' political career "has culminated in the accumulation of documented tens of billions of dollars worth of properties in the hands of his family and his cronies in the United States alone."

From Intercontinental Press

CALENDAR

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Adapt or Die. Video film on South Africa. Sat., Dec. 21, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, Room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW YORK

Albany

The Soviet Union Today: Myth and Reality. A panel of students from the Soviet Union. Thurs., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 352 Central Ave., 2nd fl. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Marcel Khalife and Al-Mayadeen In Concert. Well-known Lebanese singer and musical ensemble at fundraiser to construct a women's and children's hospital in Tyre, Lebanon, and reconstruct Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. Sun., Dec. 15, 6:30 p.m. Hunter College, 695 Park Ave. at 69th St., entrance between Park and Lexington aves. Tickets: \$10, \$15, and \$25. Ausp: Middle East Philanthropic Fund. For more information call (212) 628-2727.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Cancel Latin America's Debt! Speakers: Linda Rand, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

OHIO

Cleveland

The Middle East: Who are the Real Terrorists? Speakers to be announced Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Claire Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

OREGON

Portland

The Cuban Revolution and Cuban Life Today. Slideshow and eyewitness account by Jill Fein, member of the Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists Lodge 751; and Dan Fein, member SWP and International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1002. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

War and Revolution in Africa. A socialist educational weekend.

Class 1. "The Fight to Overturn Apartheid," Sat., Dec. 14, 1 to 3 p.m.

Class 2. "The Coming South African Revolution," 5 to 7 p.m.

Class 3. "Upsurge in Africa," Sun., Dec. 15, 12 noon. Speaker: Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*. Translation to Spanish. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$1.50 per class; \$4 for weekend. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

'Abortion is a Woman's Right!'

A pamphlet every abortion rights activist will find useful. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 95 cents. Please add 75 cents for postage and handling. Also available in Spanish. Pathfinder catalog available (free).

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ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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'Steeltown': a San Francisco Mime production

BY SONJA FRANETA

The talented San Francisco Mime Troupe has created a musical comedy out of an unlikely subject — the effect of plant closings and layoffs on steelworkers and their families and community. *Steeltown*, a two-act play written by Joan Holden — a member of the troupe — boldly challenges aspects of the capitalist system. The Mime Troupe is one of the very few and certainly the most well-known political theater groups in the United States.

"Agitation, education, and entertainment, not necessarily in that order" is how one trouper describes their aim. Established in 1959 and boosted by the antiwar

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movement of the '60s, the Mime Troupe's subject matter has always been political and their style radical. They have performed in parks and at demonstrations.

They have become internationally known and they speak enthusiastically of their visit to Cuba a few years ago. The play they toured there was also the last play they toured in the United States and Europe — *Americans or Last Tango in Huahuatenango* about the liberation struggles in Central America.

After seeing the performance of *Steeltown* in New York, I interviewed three of the troupe's members for the *Militant* — Audrey Smith, Dan Chomley, and Eduardo Robledo. Because they want to bring political theater to the people, Chomley told me, they decided to do a play about the economic crisis and "perform it in the industrial belt." They took *Steeltown* to steelworkers in East Chicago and meatpackers in Madison. They also performed in a Baltimore union hall.

The Mime Troupe received mixed reactions. Generally, people like the play. Smith said that people have come up to her after seeing her performance of Rose, a woman steelworker, and said things like, "I know that woman you played; she's been working next to me for 20 years."

The characters in *Steeltown* are drawn with broad strokes but sometimes ring a little too true to workers — especially those who have found themselves in similar situations. Chomley told me a steelworker mentioned to him after one performance that he found it painful to watch him on stage.

The play opens in the present in a typical town that has been built around a big industrial plant — "Steeltown," California. Joe Magarack, played by Chomley, is a middle-aged steelworker who wheezes and coughs and gets all wound up about his job. He wants to work all the overtime he can get, not just for the money, but because he's bought the idea it will keep the plant open.

Unfortunately, as we find out at the end of the act, this is beyond his control and the plant closes anyway. The portrayal of the brutality of the capitalist system comes through in this act.

Annabelle, Joe's wife, was a steelworker during World War II — we see her in the second act as a shop



Michael Bry

Scene from *Steeltown*: wildcat strike. Local union president (left) and shop steward in confrontation over walkout.

steward in the same plant, 30 years earlier. Now she is taking college courses, learning about art and economics, and trying very hard to get her husband to turn down that all-consuming overtime and enjoy himself a little.

In the end, Annabelle leaves Joe. He is sitting at the kitchen table with his huge "Man of Steel" medal hanging around his neck, his arm bandaged up because he lost his finger — and his job.

We also meet Louie, a young Latino laid off from the plant. He is frustrated and cynical and has just about lost it. Linda, his wife, comes home from work only to learn that they are losing their house. But she hangs on to an almost giddy optimistic attitude about their rapidly deteriorating situation.

Despite the humorous slant, I found it hard to laugh at some of these basically harsh scenes. The rest of the play was much more enjoyable.

The second act bursts into song like an authentic '40s musical — the dancing and stylized singing change the mood of the play. This act shows Joe and Annabelle and Louie's father in Steeltown on the day the war ends. The women have been working in the plant but have been getting slowly pushed out to make room for the men returning from the war. Joe arrives on the scene in a crisp white sailor suit and an innocent look — he's a "war hero" and he gets a job at the plant pretty quickly because of that.

The scenes at the steel plant are superb showing the women steelworkers on the job, leaders of their union but beginning to realize the company will be pushing out more and more of them.

The women are proud of their work and their economic independence. They challenge the institution of overtime, which had been established during the war. Now that the war is over, overtime should be over — they chant "Eight-hour day, no cut in pay!"

When one of the women gets fired, the women are the

ones who lead a wildcat strike, a challenge to the no-strike pledge agreed to by the labor bureaucracy during the war. This is a lively scene, accented with union songs and lyrics such as "We're standing with the union, 'cause the union stood by me."

The local president, played by Eduardo Robledo, is portrayed as someone torn between loyalty to the workers at the plant on the one hand and the demands by the International officialdom to take control of the situation on the other. The play is straightforward about how the union officialdom buckled under the pressures of the war years, making concessions that affect working conditions and union power to this day.

The love story between Joe and Annabelle, who is played by Joan Mankin, is woven through the strike scenes. There's a very finely done mime scene when Joe agrees to help Annabelle make signs for the strikers at her little trailer home. The way Joe and Annabelle, awkwardly attracted to each other, squeeze past each other — conveying the small space they're in — is skillfully and entertainingly done.

The music goes from blues to jazz to Andrews Sisters and the versatility of the troupe members is quite impressive. Some play several roles. As I watched the troupe who plays the Filipino worker in the second act, I realized he was the same person who did a beautiful sax solo earlier in the show.

I don't think *Steeltown* ranks with the best of the Mime Troupe's works, but the subject matter and the variety of themes introduced made for a thought-provoking and entertaining evening. I was glad to see energetic and creative people deal with a serious question of the day.

The New York performances were the last leg of their tour with *Steeltown*, but the troupe continues to produce new plays. There is also a movie about them called *Troupers* that may show up in your city.

Icelandic unions call boycott of S. Africa goods

Continued from back page

And on November 24 a new South Africa solidarity organization was established. Meeting at the offices of the Apprentice Union, the new group plans to step up anti-apartheid efforts.

Icelandic Federation of Labor resolution supporting dockworkers' action

The following resolution — "The case of South Africa" — was unanimously adopted by the central committee of the Icelandic Federation of Labor (ASÍ) on October 30. The ASÍ is Iceland's equivalent to the AFL-CIO. The translation of this and People's Alliance resolution is by Kormákur Högnason.

The violence and oppression, the lack of rights, that the Black majority has to live under meets growing opposition among civilized nations.

At sessions of the United Nations appeals for the isolation of South Africa have been adopted. Bishops of the Nordic countries [Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden] and the Nordic workers' federations have urged actions. Many nations, among them the United States and the Nordic countries, have imposed trade sanctions.

In the daily newspapers last week an appeal was published by the official repres-

tatives of the Icelandic Federation of Labor, Federation of State and Municipal Employees, Retailers Association, and the Grocer Division of the Retailers Association, in which consumers and merchants were urged to avoid South African products starting the middle of next month.

Workers' federations in different countries have imposed a ban on handling of South African products, among them Norway, Finland, and Sweden.

With these actions an answer is given to the call of the oppressed majority of the South African nation. Such actions are considered the only way to have influence on South African government authorities and thereby to avoid an all-embracing bloodbath in the country.

At the request of dockworkers in Sundahöfn [the port], the workingmen's union Dagsbrún [Dawn] adopted a ban on unloading and loading of ships sailing from and to South Africa. The central committee of ASÍ declares its support to this decision and requests other trade unions to make the necessary requirements in support of these actions.

People's Alliance resolution

Adopted unanimously on November 9 by the Seventh National Meeting (Convention) of the People's Alliance, the biggest workers' party in Iceland.

An accompanying appendix, which was also adopted, read in part: "The violence that the apartheid regime practices

and the worthless reforms it has carried out only aim at maintaining the rule, privileges, and interests that whites enjoy and at guaranteeing companies' access to super-cheap labor. This situation will not be altered except by abolishing the apartheid regime. It cannot be reformed."

Progressive and fair-minded people around the world are joining the growing and broad movement that is demanding an end to the apartheid system in South Africa.

The National Meeting of the People's Alliance calls attention to the fact that the vast majority of the people of South Africa enjoy none of the most elementary bourgeois democratic rights. Those inhabitants of the country who are not white are prohibited by law from owning any land except the barren wastes of the so-called "homelands" (Banstustans).

The African National Congress is recognized as the leading organization within the country by the Black majority, and it enjoys growing recognition abroad.

At the same time that the People's Alliance declares its support to the African National Congress, it urges the government of Iceland to follow the example of the government of Sweden and other governments in recognizing the African National Congress as the legitimate representative of the oppressed Black majority in South Africa.

The National Meeting adds its support to the demand that Nelson Mandela, leader of

the African National Congress, and other political prisoners be released from prison in South Africa.

One of the most important pillars of the white minority government is those foreign investments and transnational corporations that finance the buildup of the army and police in South Africa. By breaking these links, this pillar would be swept away from under the apartheid regime.

The People's Alliance pledges its support to the cause of the Black majority by, among other things, pressuring the government of Iceland to carry out trade sanctions against South Africa, which it, along with other governments, has agreed to.

Teamsters, UFCW strike Southern Calif. grocery chains

Continued from back page

ion competition in the southern part of the state.

Speakers from the Bakery Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and the Screen Actors Guild gave greetings to the rally, and representatives of the Communications Workers of America contributed a check for \$5,000 to the two unions.

United Auto Workers Local 148 announced it would host a Christmas party for the families of the strikers.

Everyone at the rally was urged to join the picket lines at the supermarkets and not to shop at Lucky, Safeway, Hughes, Vons, Alpha Beta, Ralphs, and Albertson's.

New U.S. attack on Nicaragua

Fourteen Nicaraguans died December 2 when U.S.-organized counterrevolutionaries shot down their helicopter. The *contras* brought the helicopter down with a SAM-7, a hand-held antiaircraft missile. Nicaragua charged that the weapon had been provided by the CIA and branded this first use of it a new escalation of the U.S.-backed aggression against their country.

The downing of the copter was also the occasion for a propaganda barrage by the Reagan administration. This was aimed at building support for the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua and providing Congress with the pretext to vote for an open flow of U.S. arms to the *contras*. This would replace the present "humanitarian" aid to the mercenary exiles.

The main peg of the new propaganda blast was the claim that a Cuban pilot and copilot were among the casualties on the helicopter that was shot down.

This was denied by Nicaragua.

In an appearance before a congressional committee, Elliott Abrams, the State Department's principal Latin American gun, falsely asserted that Cuban advisers are now "the backbone" of Nicaragua's army and are directly involved in the fighting. Abrams claimed there are now 2,500 Cuban military advisers in Nicaragua.

"You now have Cubans fighting, not just in Africa, but on the mainland of North America," he dramatically declared.

He told the committee he hoped these "revelations" would contribute to more congressional support for military aid to the mercenaries.

Abrams' declaration was promptly echoed by Secretary of State Shultz, who branded Nicaragua "a cancer in the region" and declared that, on the basis of the alleged disclosure, Washington might take "further steps" to escalate the contra war. He declined to specify what the "steps" would be.

He did indicate the administration might ask Congress for a prompt vote to supplement the present \$27 million in allegedly humanitarian aid to the *contras* with open military allocations. The present aid authorization expires in March.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega charged that Washington's decision to supply the *contras* with the SAM-7 missile represented a "terrorist escalation" of its intervention in Central America.

Shultz formally denied the CIA had provided the weapons to the *contras*. "Somehow or other, they got hold of them," he said.

The Nicaraguan government has explained that there are 700-800 Cuban military advisers in the country. Nicaragua has every legal right to utilize as many Cuban military advisers as it wants.

The 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, allowed Nicaragua, for the first time, to act as a free, sovereign, independent nation. The Sandinista government is a legitimate one that enjoys the support of the big majority of Nicaragua's workers and farmers.

Cuba's role in Nicaragua is in sharp contrast to that of Washington. The revolutionary government of Cuba has never attempted to dictate foreign or domestic policy to Nicaragua or any other country. Cuban volunteer skilled workers and professionals are helping Nicaragua im-

prove living conditions, develop economically, and strengthen its defense.

The U.S. rulers, on the other hand, occupied Nicaragua with troops for years, imposed dictators for half a century, and ruthlessly exploited the country's labor and resources. They brought death and disease, not health services and medical care. And now they have organized a bloody war.

Shultz and those he speaks for see Nicaragua as a "cancer" because it is determined to end decades of ruinous U.S.-imperialist domination and to reconstruct Nicaraguan society in a way that will improve the life of the people — without regard to how this will affect capitalist profiteers.

To defend their right to do this, the Nicaraguan people have responded with heroic determination to the unrelenting contra attacks, and they have dealt the invaders telling blows.

That's why even Washington concedes there is no realistic prospect of the *contras* overthrowing the government. In four years of fighting, these ruthless, well-armed thugs have not been able to hold a single town or strip of land in Nicaragua.

But the *contras* are expendable mercenaries as far as the U.S. rulers are concerned. As they die in battle, they are being replaced by new hires.

The unending flow of U.S. firepower permits the *contras* to do a lot of damage in their murderous forays into Nicaragua from their Honduran sanctuaries.

Burning, looting, kidnapping, raping, and murdering, the *contras* have made countless hit-and-run attacks on small towns and villages.

Of a population of some 3.5 million, nearly a quarter of a million Nicaraguans have been left homeless by these sneak attacks.

Of the 3,652 people who have died at the hands of these CIA-trained killers, more than 350 have been women and children.

More than 4,000 people have been wounded and an additional 5,000 kidnapped.

Schools and health centers have been a special target of the counterrevolutionaries. In a country that, for the first time, is trying to educate and improve the health of its people, 321 schools and 50 health centers have been destroyed.

By continuing to exact so grisly a toll over a protracted period, Washington hopes to impose massive hardships and demoralization on the Nicaraguan people to create the conditions to overthrow the revolutionary government. And Washington is building up a massive military machine in neighboring Honduras to prepare for a possible direct invasion of Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan people, however, are standing firm against this unrelenting attack. The demonstration at the U.S. embassy sponsored by the Nicaraguan labor movement — 30,000-strong — that we report on this week is just one sign of that.

The Nicaraguan people deserve the solidarity of working people in this country.

Emergency demonstrations protesting the downing of the Nicaraguan helicopter were held in several cities. (See story page 3.) As Washington escalates its war, such protests should be multiplied nationwide.

First manifesto of Spear of Nation, ANC's armed wing

December 16 marks the 24th anniversary of the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the organization that became the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), the vanguard organization of the South African revolution. Nelson Mandela, South Africa's best-known freedom fighter, was a founding leader and commander-in-chief of the new group.

A series of explosions at government installations on Dec. 16, 1961, marked the emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The manifesto excerpted below was issued on the same day.

The excerpts are reprinted from *The Struggle Is My Life*, a collection of speeches and writings by Nel-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

son Mandela. The book also contains ANC documents. *The Struggle Is My Life* is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014, for \$4.95 plus .75 postage and handling.

Units of Umkhonto we Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto we Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Africans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races.

Umkhonto we Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations. Umkhonto we Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members, jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organizations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defense of our people, our future, and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkhonto we Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression, and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government, which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force!

Umkhonto we Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defense. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought — as the liberation movement has sought — to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope — even at this late hour — that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realization of the disastrous situation to which the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both the Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all the people of this country — black, brown and white — whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy, and the winning of liberty, democracy, and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

'Right-to-life' tries murder

Two murderous attacks against abortion clinics have taken place in the last two weeks.

On December 2 a package bomb was delivered by mail to the Feminist Women's Health Center in Portland, Oregon. Police described the bomb as an "anti-personnel device" powerful enough to kill several people. It was designed to go off when the package was opened.

It was only the vigilance of a clinic staff member who thought the package looked suspicious and called the police that averted death or severe injury.

A search by postal authorities then resulted in the seizure of three bombs destined for two other abortion clinics in the Portland area and an office of Planned Parenthood in Beaverton, Oregon.

On December 10, in the late afternoon, a bomb exploded in the bathroom of the Manhattan Women's Medical Center in New York City.

In response to an anonymous phone call warning people to get out of the clinic, police began a hurried evacuation of the building.

According to Robert Creighton, special agent in charge of the New York office of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the blast "certainly could have killed someone" if they had been in the bathroom.

These incidents are the most serious in a new round of right-wing attacks on abortion clinics and the constitutional right to abortion.

In November, two abortion clinics in Louisiana were hit by arson attacks, burning one clinic to the ground.

Right-wing opponents of abortion rights have engaged in increasingly frenzied actions, including attempts to enter the clinics and physically prevent women from getting abortions.

Others have held fetuses in their bare hands and thrust them in the faces of women entering the clinics.

Last spring and summer, outrage at the bombings and demands for action by women's rights supporters resulted in the convictions of anti-abortion terrorists in Florida, Alabama, and Washington, D.C.

Maximum pressure should be brought to bear now to demand a thorough investigation and the arrest and prosecution of those responsible for these most recent, potentially deadly, attacks.

The campaign of violence against abortion clinics is designed to sow fear and to intimidate women from seeking safe, legal abortions. Right-wing opponents of abortion are emboldened by the broadside attack against abortion rights by the government, the courts, and Congress.

These bombings underscore the importance of putting maximum effort into building the "National March for Women's Lives" demonstrations scheduled on March 9 in Washington, D.C., and on March 16 in Los Angeles. These actions — called by the National Organization for Women — deserve the support of all those who have a stake in defending women's rights and opposing reactionary attacks on abortion — the labor movement, Black and Latino organizations, antiwar and anti-apartheid activists, and every supporter of women's rights.

Chicanos, Mexicans back Watsonville strikers

The following is a guest column by Rick Trujillo, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 in San Jose, California.

"Huelga. Huelga. Huelga!" (Strike.) That's what you hear on the picket lines outside the



¡BASTA YA! Andrea González

Richard Shaw Co. and Watsonville Canning in Watsonville, California.

The strikers, members of Teamsters Local 912, are overwhelmingly Mexican and Chicano. So the language of the strike is Spanish.

The workers were forced out on strike when the company tried to impose a 20 to 35 percent pay cut; a two-tier wage system; abolition of the eight-hour day; severe reductions in medical coverage; and givebacks in vacation time, sick leave, and holidays.

The strike began September 9. The cops and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la migra*) have been mobilized to try to intimidate the strikers, 13 of whom have been arrested on trumped-up charges.

But morale is high in Watsonville. The workers are determined to fight for a decent contract.

The strike has won support from unions across the state.

The support of one union — the United Farm Workers (UFW) — has been especially important in boosting the strikers' morale.

Many of the strikers, like Mexicans and Chicanos across California, had been active in *la causa* — the social movement that developed around the UFW's drive to

organize farm workers in the United States.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the UFW's efforts to unionize farm workers received national and international attention. Farm workers are among the most exploited workers in this country. They receive starvation wages and work in the worst conditions. The majority of farm workers in California are Mexicans. Many have no papers. The growers use racist violence by the cops and the threat of deportation by *la migra* to squeeze everything they can out of these workers.

The UFW's organizing drive was seen as a movement, not only for better wages and working conditions, but to bring dignity to these especially oppressed and exploited workers.

While the UFW was organizing in the valleys of California, Chicanos and Mexicans in the cities, inspired by the massive civil rights movement of Blacks, began to organize to fight for their rights. Most Chicanos and Mexicans in California have worked in the fields themselves or have relatives working in the fields. They identified with the UFW. They adopted it as their cause — organizing picket lines and boycotts of nonunion produce to pressure the growers to sign contracts with the UFW.

Watsonville is only a few miles outside of the Salinas Valley. Salinas is a center for the UFW today and was important in the early organizing drives. These cannery workers know firsthand the impact of the UFW. They see it as the union they helped to build, the union that is part of their struggle against national oppression.

The UFW has responded to the call for solidarity from the Teamsters local. UFW members have mobilized for solidarity rallies with Local 912. UFW President César Chávez has visited the Watsonville strikers.

This solidarity between the UFW and Teamsters Local 912 is significant.

During the UFW's organizing drives, the Teamsters national officials worked with the growers to break the drive. The Teamsters officials signed sweetheart contracts with the growers. These contracts gave no protec-

tion to the workers but kept the UFW out of the fields. The officialdom even went so far as to bring in goons to beat up UFW strikers and break strikes.

The massive support the UFW received from working people, however, forced the Teamsters officials to pull back and leave the fields. But the divisions between the two unions continued to exist.

The Watsonville strike is a step toward healing these divisions. UFW members march with the Teamster-led strikers against the food processing companies.

The strike in Watsonville has itself begun to be seen as a social cause by Chicanos and Mexicans throughout California.

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the League of United Latin American Citizens, and MEChA, the statewide Chicano student organization, have all come to the support of the strikers.

In the Mexican and Chicano communities of Watsonville, grocery stores are donating food for the strikers. Churches have organized support committees. These committees have tried, so far unsuccessfully, to pressure the all-white city council to pass a moratorium on evictions of strikers from their homes. High school students and their teachers have joined the strikers on the picket lines.

The Spanish-language radio features reports — from the strikers' point of view — on the strike. These stations have issued appeals for aid for the strikers.

The stakes in the Watsonville strike are high. The food processing companies hope with this strike to set the stage to drive down wages in the food processing industry throughout the state.

The strikers predict that this battle will go on for a while. The companies are trying to starve them into submission.

But Local 912 has the solidarity of the union movement in Northern California. The strikers have also won the support of *la raza* — the Mexican and Chicano people.

They know from the experience of the UFW that this is a powerful combination. They are confident and determined to win.

Two-tier wages hit temporary workers harder

BY MICHAEL CHRISTOPHER

The term "two-tier" refers to the practice of hiring workers at a lower wage than current employees make.

When I moved to Pittsburgh recently and began looking for work, I expected I would get a job where I would hire on for lower pay. But what I hadn't anticipated is how two-tier exploitation is made worse when you work

AS I SEE IT

as a "temporary" employee.

Every morning I report for work at Westinghouse Electric's nonunion West Mifflin plant. The 20 people on my line make replacement parts, mostly for New York City and other cities' subways. Thirteen workers make between \$10 and \$11 an hour. Seven of us, including myself, make \$5.19 an hour with no benefits. (That's not exactly true. In March I became eligible for hospitalization for myself, my wife, and my son, for \$108 a month that I pay.) We "temps" won't be paid for Christmas or New Year's holidays, either.

We all do exactly the same work and are evaluated with exactly the same standards.

This gross division of the work force is rationalized by the company in this way: All Westinghouse employees are treated the same. But we new hires don't work for Westinghouse. We work for Manpower Temporaries. Manpower is our boss. We send our time slips to Man-

power, and Manpower sends us our checks. And if we don't like making just \$5.19 an hour, then talk to Manpower.

There's frequent discussion on the job about why the company bothers to go through Manpower. Why not hire the new folks directly and save the money they pay to Manpower to provide the service?

Most people realize, however, that even if Westinghouse pays \$10 an hour for our work, they come out ahead by paying no benefits. The *New York Times* noted this in an October 24 article called "A Boom in Temporary Work."

The *Times* noted that employment of temps has climbed from 400,000 a day to 700,000 in just the last three years. Why? "Face it," says a personnel officer. "Labor costs are a major item. You are not paying the same fringe benefits to temporaries."

Nor the same base wage rate in many cases, I might add.

There are other factors. The guy sharing my workbench, another temp, says if Westinghouse loses its big New York City contract to General Electric, as is rumored, the first layoffs would be the temps. "We aren't as 'real' as the Westinghouse workers," he said. "It's easier for them to get rid of us."

As the *Times* puts it, "It is faster and less costly to eliminate temporary workers than to cut back permanent staff members when business falls off."

Some workers see that the temps not only have their own problems, but the company's use of us is a threat to the permanent workers as well.

"You are what they want to do to everybody here," a woman in the lunch line told me. "They'll just fire us and replace us with people who will work for half the money."

We work for \$5.19 an hour because there are mile after mile of closed plants in this area. This is considered a good wage for somebody looking for work. As the Manpower bosses never tire of telling us, there's plenty of people out there who would love to be making what you're making.

All this makes for a tough time for everybody. The temp is trying to scratch out a living. The permanent workers are feeling the threat to their jobs.

But to me, there is one more aspect that is like rubbing salt in the wound.

Some readers might be thinking, well, you make half the money, you put out half the work. Not so.

Of course, there are the usual supervisors dogging you all the time. But Westinghouse has come up with a way to make sure the temps are their own hardest bosses.

From the dozens and dozens of temps they have, Westinghouse will hire a few to become permanent employees at full pay and benefits. So what happens is that most temps bust their butts to produce, to shine, to catch the eye of a supervisor. They not only try to be the most productive temp, but to out-produce the permanent workers.

I had been working a couple of weeks when I read the *Times* article on temps. I had a weak laugh when I read the close of their story. They said that to "control their own destinies . . . in the future, more people will simply choose to work as temps."

LETTERS

U.S. hypocrisy

The following is a quote of several paragraphs from a letter by Michael Winks to the editor of the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* concerning the recently declared state of emergency in Nicaragua.

"The reality of Nicaragua is that the country is under internal and external pressure from the United States and its surrogates. Ronald Reagan has made it clear that his goal is the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government.

"Let's look back at the one time America's soil was touched by foreign invaders — Pearl Harbor. After the invasion civil liberties

were revoked on Hawaii. Anyone there who did not volunteer to help with this nation's cause was thrown in jail."

The letter points well to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government. But it also needs to be pointed out that the U.S. suppression of civil liberties during World War II and now were and are in the service of big-business domination of the world whereas the Nicaraguan state of emergency is in the service of the survival of workers' and peasants' power in that country.

Caroline Lund
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

New York recently recommended Gage & Tollner, a landmark Brooklyn restaurant. The review recommended that you go for lunch, or "travel with an armed guard at night."

The *City Sun*, a Black weekly, had a proper response. It said: "Of course, the message here to the magazine's predominantly white yuppie readership is: 'If you really must have din-din in the bowels of Brooklyn . . . you should know that the Black ruffians crawl out of their holes at night just to attack you. So bring your own ruffian — or borrow dad's — to make sure things are safe.'"

The paper tabbed it "Racism a la carte." H.C.
New York, New York

People with AIDS

I liked the *Militant*'s recent articles on AIDS. Just one point: Out here at least, the term "AIDS victims" is seen negatively, replaced by "people with AIDS" ("PWAs").

M.M.
Seattle, Washington

Spider Woman'

I really liked your review of *Kiss of the Spider Woman*. I didn't particularly find the performances as good or the story as provocative as Harry Ring did, but I agree with his assessment of the opinions of those who criticize the film as antigay or anticomunist.

J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

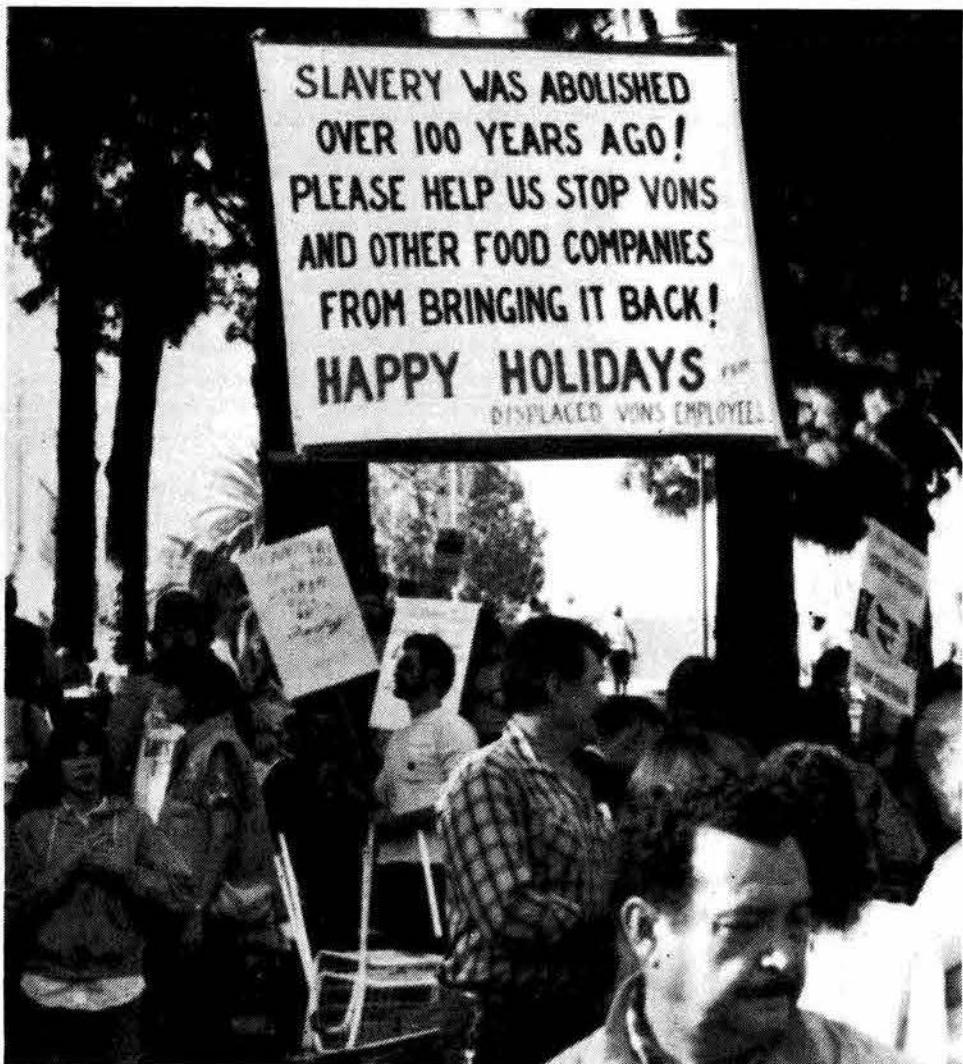
The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Read the *Militant*

'Racism a la carte'

A minireview in the magazine

2,000 rally to back grocery workers Teamsters, meat cutters fight S. Calif. companies



Militant

Some of 2,000 union members and supporters who rallied December 7 in solidarity with Teamsters and members of United Food and Commercial Workers union under attack by grocery chain owners.

BY JEANNIE FRANKEL

LOS ANGELES — Striking Teamsters and meat cutters received a boost in their fight to defend their unions and their jobs at a rally here December 7. Close to 2,000 union members and supporters turned out to solidarize with the grocery workers, who are under vicious attack by grocery chain owners.

The strike began over a month ago when the Teamsters and United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) struck 164 Vons grocery stores and warehouses in Southern California. Six other chains responded with a lockout. Twenty-two thousand workers are now either on strike or are locked out at over 900 stores.

The demands being made by the Food Employers Council (FEC) represent an all-out attack on the workers and their unions. The FEC is demanding the right to open new warehouses outside Teamsters jurisdiction and to subcontract to nonunion companies. They are also demanding two-tier wage agreements, with much lower wage scales for new hires.

From the UFCW they are demanding a new classification of worker called "meat clerk," who would do 70 percent of the work now done by meat cutters and meat wrappers at \$4 to \$6 an hour less pay. The guaranteed workweek would be reduced from 40 to 20 hours.

Rally speakers were cheered again and again as they pointed to the seriousness of this attack and the need to continue to fight.

Mike Riley, International vice-president of the Teamsters, described it as an attempt to "push 30 years of collective bargaining down the drain."

"Never have so many people in Southern California been affected as in this dispute. Everyone can relate to the issues of job security and the two-tier wage system," said Jerry Veracruz from Teamsters Local 630.

Rally speakers also denounced the all-out propaganda war launched by the supermarket chains and the big-business media against the striking workers. The media has covered up the viciousness and greed of the employer attack while slandering the strikers, charging them with violence, poisoning food, and causing illness by planting stink bombs in stores.

There have been bomb threats to union halls and instances of scab truckers running through picket lines injuring pickets. The capitalist media has not covered these incidents.

On Thanksgiving eve, there were newspaper headlines about food banks and shelters not receiving Thanksgiving food supplies for the needy because of the strike. What was not as well-publicized was the fact that the Teamsters immediately offered to deliver the food for free to the food banks and shelters. The FEC rejected the offer.

The supermarkets claim they need to reduce wages so they can better compete with small drugstores and convenience stores. In a full-page ad in seven newspapers, they also blame unions for driving up food prices.

Jerry Menapace, UFCW International vice-president, explained at the rally who really profits from high food prices. He cited the huge profits the struck chains have made every year and pointed out that all major supermarket chains in California are organized, so there is almost no nonunion.

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Icelandic unions call boycott of S. Africa

BY MALIK MIAH

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — Since November 15 dockworkers in this Nordic island nation of 240,000 people have refused to unload goods arriving from South Africa. This militant anti-apartheid action came a few weeks after a visit to the docks by Aaron Mnisi, a representative of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

Mnisi had told the dockworkers at the Sundahöfn (the port) October 17, "Every

penny paid for products from South Africa in the world is, in effect — consciously or unconsciously — support to the apartheid policy of the government in Pretoria. The money received for one orange in Iceland is enough for one bullet for the armed forces of the whites, the armed forces that now use guns against the people that demand freedom."

Mnisi, the ANC representative in Scandinavia, resides in Copenhagen, Denmark. He was on a broadly sponsored tour of Iceland, October 15-22.

After hearing Mnisi's description of apartheid and what the South African people are fighting for, the dockworkers adopted a resolution requesting that the governing body of Dagsbrún (Dawn — the union of unskilled workers that the dockworkers are members of) organize a ban on unloading of South African products or loading of ships destined for that country in Reykjavik harbor.

Dagsbrún adopted such a ban, which went into effect November 15. (Resolution is reprinted on page 17.)

Active solidarity for the Black majority in South Africa and against the racist apartheid system began here about a year ago. It coincided with the new upsurge of the freedom struggle in South Africa itself.

In the fall of 1984 the National Association of Students, the Apprentice Union of Iceland (INSÍ), and the church relief institution organized what is called the NOD project. This project was part of a bigger project organized by similar organizations in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Norway.

The aim of the NOD project was to help educate Iceland's working people about the

crimes of apartheid. Special educational materials were published and taken to union gatherings, campuses, and other places. Teach-ins were also organized.

The INSÍ, which has over 3,000 members, mostly in their teens and early 20s, put out special literature on South Africa.

A South African student leader was also brought to Iceland on tour during spring 1985. She toured for two weeks and spoke to meetings of apprentices and high school students, and was interviewed by the national press and other media.

In September the Youth League, an affiliate of the People's Alliance — the biggest workers' party in Iceland — began an educational campaign aimed at convincing people not to buy goods from South Africa and merchants not to sell them. Youth League members went to shopping centers with buttons and posters to carry out this campaign. Articles were written in the People's Alliance daily newspaper.

The high point of the solidarity effort to date was the Mnisi tour. He was the first ANC representative to tour Iceland.

The tour won broad sponsorship. In addition to the People's Alliance, his visit was sponsored by the Social Democratic Party; the Progressive Party, one of the two capitalist parties that make up the current Icelandic government; the youth affiliates to these three parties; the Women's Slate; and the Bárattusamök Sózialista — Militant Socialist Organization, Icelandic section of the Fourth International (an international organization of revolutionary socialists). The People's Alliance, Social Democratic Party, and Women's Slate hold seats in parliament.

Trade union sponsors included the Icelandic Federation of Labor (ASÍ — Ice-

land's equivalent of the AFL-CIO), INSÍ, and the Icelandic General and Transport Workers' Federation, of which Dagsbrún is an affiliate.

Only the Independence (Conservative) Party and its youth league refused to support the tour. The Independence Party is the biggest capitalist party and generally supports the foreign policies of the U.S. government.

Mnisi kept a busy schedule. In addition to many media engagements and speaking to the dockworkers, he addressed several meetings.

He spoke to workers at a fish-processing plant during their coffee break. These workers, part of the all-important fishing industry, asked numerous questions about the conditions of working people in South Africa. Most of these processing workers are women, and the wages are some of the lowest in the country.

Mnisi also spoke at the convention of INSÍ and met with leaders of the two union federations — the ASÍ and the Federation of Municipal and State Employees. These two federations include all the unions in the country.

Mnisi also met with the prime minister, Steingrímur Hermannsson, and other representatives of the Progressive Party; the parliamentary group of the People's Alliance; and the bishop of Iceland, who pledged his support to the anti-apartheid fight.

After Mnisi's tour, the national convention of the People's Alliance meeting here November 7-10 adopted a strong anti-apartheid resolution. It called on the Icelandic government to carry out trade sanctions against South Africa. (See page 17.)

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Dagsbrún
ANC leader Aaron Mnisi addressing dockworkers in Reykjavik, Iceland.